THEOLOGY

A Monthly Journal of Historic Christianity

Edited by the Rev. E. G. Selwyn, M.A., Redhill Rectory, Havant, to whom all editorial matters should be addressed.

Vol. VI MAY, 1923 No. 35

EDITORIAL

Writing in March, we expressed the view that the measure for the division of the Winchester Diocese would be considerably modified in committee. The attention which the subject has received meanwhile in the Press shows that it is regarded as a matter of more than diocesan interest.

On the ground of principle the issue is often defined as one between prelacy and episcopacy; or, Do we want our bishops to be "fathers in God"? We confess to some distrust of all these phrases; and we venture to think that there is sound guidance to be found in the celebrated passage where the greatest of ancient thinkers discusses the ideal size of a State.* After warning his readers that "a great State is not the same as a populous one," since "it is not so much the population of a State as its power that deserves consideration," Aristotle lays it down that "the noblest State is one in which . . . good order is combined with magnitude."

A State, if its members are extremely few, will not be independent (*αὐταρκής*), as a State must be; and if they are extremely numerous, although it will be independent as regards the necessaries of life in the sense in which a non-Greek people is independent, yet it will not be a State, as a polity cannot easily exist in it. For who is to be general of this overwhelming multitude or its public crier, if he has not the voice of a Stentor? We may conclude then that, as *a State is in the nature of things first realized when the population composing it is numerically the lowest which is independent and capable of a good life*, so one that is numerically larger than this may still be a State, although this increase cannot continue indefinitely. Nor is it difficult, if we take a practical view, to ascertain the limit of excess. The actions of a State imply rulers on the one hand and subjects on the other, and the function of a ruler is to issue commands and pronounce judgments. If, then, they are to determine questions of justice and distribute offices of State according

* Aristotle, *Pol.* VII. iv. We have used Dean Welldon's translation.

to desert, *it is necessary that the citizens should know each other's character.* . . . For it is not just to form off-hand opinions upon these two points. . . . *We see clearly, then, the best limit of population; it is that the number of citizens should be the largest possible in order to ensure independence of life, but not so large that it cannot be comprehended in a single view.*

The principle, then, is that a State should be large enough to be independent and strong, and small enough to admit of effective rule and of the citizens knowing one another. If "rule" be interpreted in the Biblical sense attaching to the word ποιμαίνειν, the maxims of Aristotle seem readily applicable to the administration of the Church. But their application is not simple. For they involve a nice balance and proportion between the elements which go to the making of a sound corporate life; and in every separate case judgment will have to be exercised as to whether this balance exists. In the case of Winchester, good grounds can be advanced for believing that the necessary conditions obtain in the case of the proposed diocese of Guildford; but few who know the local circumstances would say the same of the proposed diocese of Portsmouth and the Wight, and we much hope that the former only will be proceeded with at this stage.

The short article we publish this month from Mr. Lowther Clarke appears to justify the suspense of judgment exercised by many with regard to the criticism of the Old Testament; for, though there can be no return to the kind of apologetic which was used a generation ago to defend verbal inspiration, Mr. Clarke has unwittingly anticipated some of the latest conclusions of scholars which are only now finding their way into print. The article was submitted to Professor T. H. Robinson, who writes as follows:

On the latter point the curious thing is that you have presented what *is* the *modern* critical position! Briefly it is this: Mosaic religion clearly had a comparatively high standard of morality. This may have been due to the fact that a nomadic tribe has far fewer temptations than an agricultural and commercial people, but it seems beyond dispute. The Conquest led to Syncretism—Yahweh became a Ba'al. This explains the fact that the civilization of settled Israel is Babylonian rather than Egyptian. *But* (this is the historic key to the Religion of Israel) *the nomadic and agricultural religions went on side by side,* both as forms of "Yahwism." Elijah and Amos, the first champions of ethical Yahwism, were both men of the desert border. You will find this view presented in Skinner's *Prophecy and Religion,* in the chapter on "The Two Religions of Israel."

FAIR PLAY IN CONTROVERSY

In the early autumn of last year I received from the Rationalist Society a copy of *Shaken Creeds: The Virgin Birth*, by Mr. Jocelyn Rhys. I found that the author had devoted a couple of pages towards the close of his book to a somewhat violent attack on a paper entitled, "Modernist Christology and the Plain Man," which I had contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* in the issue of April, 1922, and I gathered from the communication enclosed that this handsome volume was sent to me to give me an opportunity of making some reply if I thought fit to do so.

Stress of work obliged me to put aside any consideration of the matter for some months. I only take it up now, not because I have the slightest objection to fair criticism, but to plead that the ordinary rules of controversy, not to speak of its courtesies, should be observed, even when a Bishop is the object of attack. I think it will be conceded by those who care to read this paper that those rules have been rather flagrantly violated by Mr. Rhys.

Before I proceed in my endeavour to make this claim good, let me state that I have read Mr. Rhys' book carefully; that I find in it nothing with which I was not already familiar (indeed, I gather from his Preface that Mr. Rhys does not claim to do more than put forth in an orderly and easily accessible manner the arguments already advanced which, in his opinion, and that of all who are convinced by them, render belief in the Virgin Birth of our Lord untenable); and that nevertheless I, in common with many far more qualified than I am to pronounce on such a question, still whole-heartedly believe in that article of the Christian Creed. The reason why I make this confession of faith will be apparent later on.

I hope I may be permitted to quote, as pertinent to the object I have in view, and without laying myself open to the charge of self-advertisement, from an article entitled "Modernismo Anglicano," which appeared in the *Rivista Trimestrale di Studi Filosofici e Religiosi*, vol. iii., No. 2, of the University of Siena, by Professor A. Pini, and which some of the readers of the *Hibbert Journal* no doubt have seen. It is a very able and fairly exhaustive review, running to twenty-four closely printed pages, dealing chiefly with the Cambridge Conference and the questions and controversies raised thereby, and would be admitted by all, I believe, who have read it to be an impartial and illuminating presentation of the subject. The last two

pages are devoted to a consideration of my article in the *Hibbert.*

I should like to quote the clear and careful summary of my article by the writer, but considerations of space forbid. I will only remark that this foreign critic has fully understood the scope and purpose of what I wrote, and has not misrepresented my meaning in any detail. He concludes as follows:

"Thus with the weight of his ministerial experience the American (*sic*) Bishop puts into circulation among the preoccupations of the Churchmen's Union, as it were, a new spirit, and so completes and strengthens the conclusions of Headlam. The latter demanded that the difficulties presented by modern culture should be faced without impoverishing the Christian Faith, and with the desire to make it victorious; the former reminds us that in the modern world the 'lesser ones' also have their part, and their spiritual needs are no less important, or worthy of attention. Fused together, the conclusions of the theologian and those of the shepherd of souls show that with reference to the encounter of the ancient faith with the modern world, the problem is at the same time both more simple and more strenuous, because it is a question—to use the words of George Tyrrell—of never turning the eyes away from the extended arms of Him Who died for the whole *orbis terrarum ;* of not forgetting that the religion which centres in His Name must not be incomprehensible to the minds of the humblest, nor insufficient for the minds of the highest."

I have made this quotation simply for the purpose of showing that, while it was possible for this writer to understand clearly the object and scope of an article written in a language foreign to him, it remains for an English critic not only to misunderstand entirely the motive of this same article, but to find in it material for a very grave charge against the personal honesty of its author.

As will be seen from the passages I shall now quote from his pages, Mr. Rhys asserts that I wrote this article, not because I believe in the Creeds myself—indeed, he more than hints that I do not—but because I wish the doctrines therein contained to be preserved, in order that I and my "ecclesiastical fellows" may be enabled to retain our hold on "the plain man"!

"The Bishop of Ontario,"* says Mr. Rhys, "having studied the criticisms made on the Church's Creeds at the Cambridge Conference of the Churchmen's Union in 1921, takes pen in hand, not, as might be expected, by the faithful, to defend the truth of those Creeds which he periodically repeats, but to point out some of the probable consequences of amending them. He claims to speak on behalf of the 'plain man,' of members of his flock who are, in short, 'ignorant, no doubt, of the theological speculations and conflicts' of which the Creeds were the outcome."

* *Shaken Creeds*, p. 219.

Why Mr. Rhys should think "the faithful" would be aggrieved, because, having some particular knowledge of a certain point of view affected by the discussion in question, I chose to put that forward in the *Hibbert Journal* instead of doing something quite different, is not apparent. His statement, too, of my purpose is not quite adequate. To speak of "amending" the Creeds is begging the question. My object was to set forth the attitude of the "plain man" towards the Creeds as they now stand, and to show the consequences to *him* of revising them *along Modernist lines*, which is by no means necessarily the same thing as amending them. I said:

"Some (of the writers of the papers delivered at the Cambridge Conference), if not all of them, indeed, would earnestly desire a complete revision of those Creeds, so as to bring them into harmony with Modernist thought. They clearly believe that if their views were accepted, and the Creeds revised along the lines suggested by them, serious intellectual difficulties which are hindering thoughtful people from accepting Christianity would be removed."

That is where I took issue with them. Personally I do not think that the Creeds need any revision; I accept them as they stand. But my immediate purpose was to show that the assumption so often made by members of this school of thought, that a revision of the Creeds along the lines they proposed would make Christianity generally more easy of acceptation was a mistake which ought to be set right. My experience, which is a fairly wide one, is that there are multitudes of thoughtful Christians whose faith would be completely shipwrecked if the Modernists' conclusions prevailed. I stated that the fear of consequences ought not to deter anyone from the pursuit of truth, but that it was just as well to have a clear idea of what those consequences would be. The implication, of course, is that a full realization of the dangerous spiritual results to many of their teaching might make the Modernists pause and consider seriously whether they may not, after all, be mistaken, and the path which they are following lead not to, but away from, the truth. I said that:

"Their attempt to make Christianity more acceptable by mending it would undoubtedly, if their views were to prevail, have the result of ending belief in it altogether for a large number of people."

Then follows the explanation of this conclusion. I had already remarked that after a careful perusal of papers delivered at the Cambridge Conference, I hoped I was not doing the writers an injustice in being forced to the conclusion that, speaking generally, their Christ is not the Christ of the Christianity that has up till now been preached to the world,

and that, without entering into nice distinctions between Deity and Divinity, He is not God in the full sense in which the Catholic Creeds proclaim Him God. Now the very foundation of the faith of the "plain man" is his belief that Jesus Christ was God Incarnate in the full sense set forth in the Catholic Creeds. He makes this venture of faith as being more justified by the facts than any other theory professing to explain them. The heart of Christianity for him is the Cross, and believing that the victim on the Cross was literally the Son of God, he is completely convinced of the love of God, and that in the light of that love all difficulties and apparent inconsistencies can be faced now, and will be ultimately removed. Holding these views, he sees no need for a restatement of the Creeds. His intelligence tells him that human language and human philosophy have their limitations, but he believes the interpretation of the facts to be as accurate as can be expected under the circumstances, and that the truth they convey would not in any way be made clearer to him if restated in modern philosophical terms. And while knowing perfectly well that the language and ideas of the Creed must be, in the very nature of things, inadequate to express fully the sublime mysteries which they attempt to set forth, yet he feels that they do set forth in a manner about which there can be no mistake the great fact upon which he has staked his whole faith—namely, that Jesus Christ is very God.

All this Mr. Rhys ignores. Continuing to quote from him where we left off, we find that he goes on to say:

"Of this 'plain man' the Bishop says: 'Some well-meaning people would like him to be troubled by the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. But he refuses to be troubled. It fits in with his conception of Christ as the Son of God, and he considers that the evidence for it is just about as strong as for any other fact concerning Christ. He is well aware that the ascension into heaven and the session at the right hand of God can only be symbolical representations of the truths they are intended to convey; but he does not see how these truths could be more effectively set forth if they were translated into language believed to be more in accordance with modern ideas.'"

"Doubtless the Bishop's feelings would be extremely hurt if he knew that some of these plain men of whom he speaks call it dishonest to say things which are not true, and would regard themselves as liars if they stood up in church and stated that they believed 'He ascended into heaven' when what they actually believe is something indefinable, of which these words are now said to be a symbolical representation. The Bishop's 'plain man'—apparently an educated one—may find that the Virgin Birth doctrine fits in with his conception of Christ as the Son of God, but he does so because he has formed his conception of Christ as the Son of God from the Virgin Birth story which the Bishop and his colleagues have assured him is true—not because he has studied the

evidence and discovered, *like the Bishop, that every other dogma concerning Christ is based on evidence equally flimsy.* (The italics are mine.) The doctrine must be retained, so the Bishop argues, because, 'so far from hindering, it helps his (the plain man's) belief.' And so he goes on, without making any claim or pretence that the doctrine is true, to urge its retention, because it is the corner-stone of orthodox Christianity."

Why should my feelings be hurt? I hope that not only some, but all of the plain men of whom I speak, and upon intimate communication with some of whom my paper was based, would "call it dishonest to say things which are not true, and would regard themselves as liars," etc. But the fact is that they believe what they say to be the truth, described by those who saw the event exactly as it took place before their eyes. The idea that heaven is a place has changed into the belief that it is rather a state of existence. But even so the words of the Creed represent quite adequately the fact set forth—namely, that the Risen and Living Christ passed in the presence of those witnesses, from the earthly sphere of existence which He had temporarily occupied, to the heavenly sphere of existence whence He came at His incarnation. That is clearly what the disciples who saw the event meant by their description of it; that is what the Creed means, and that is what I and the "plain man" mean when we recite that clause of the Creed. Our belief is by no means in "something indefinable," but in a very definite fact not in the slightest degree impaired by realization of the necessary human limitations of those who naturally used the word "ascend" in describing what they saw, or by the changed meaning of the idea connoted by the word "heaven." That is what I mean by "symbolical representation," and I do not believe that any impartial person would support the charge of dishonesty brought by Mr. Rhys. I notice that he does not challenge the use of the clause "sitteth at the right hand of God" in a symbolical sense, perhaps because he perceived that to do so would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of his charge.

Next follows a curious piece of reasoning. Mr. Rhys says that the "plain man" finds that the doctrine of the Virgin Birth fits in with his conception of Christ as the Son of God, because he has formed his conception of Christ as the Son of God from the Virgin Birth story, which the Bishop and his colleagues have assured him is true. His words, as they stand, can only mean that the "plain man" has formed his conception of Christ from one single belief about Him, which I and others have assured him is true, and that having thus formed his conception of Christ as the Son of God, he finds that the belief on which he formed this conception fits in with

the conception founded upon it! There is nothing at all in what I wrote to warrant such a deduction. What Mr. Rhys might perhaps have said is that the "plain man," having formed his conception of Christ as the Son of God from *all* the facts recorded and believed about Him, including among others the Virgin Birth, *all* of which facts he accepts as true, on my or other authority, finds, when that particular belief is challenged, that it fits in with his conception of Christ as the Son of God which was formed as I have stated. That is a very different matter from what Mr. Rhys alleges. And as to his statement that the plain man believes this particular doctrine, not because he has studied the evidence for himself, but because I and my colleagues have told him it is true; if I have studied the evidence, both for and against the doctrine, as I have done, and believe the evidence for it to be stronger than the evidence against it, as I do, why should he not, if he trusts my judgment, accept what I tell him?

The gratuitous insult contained in the words italicized is not justified by a single word or expression in the whole of my paper. In the passage Mr. Rhys quotes, I say that the "plain man" considers the evidence for it (the Virgin Birth) just about as *strong* as for any other facts concerning Christ. What right has Mr. Rhys to say that I, after studying the evidence, have discovered that every other dogma concerning Christ is based on evidence equally *flimsy?* This is not controversy, but deliberate misrepresentation, for which there is not a shadow of justification in anything I have written. The implication, of course, is that I continue to affirm my belief in, and to teach others, doctrines which I know to be based on flimsy evidence. This amazing insinuation is made when he had before him the following passage in my paper:

> "On this occasion a belief is at stake which is clearly crucial, and naturally those who have made the venture, and have based their whole faith and life on the belief that Christ is very God, must contend with all their strength for that belief."

Pace Mr. Rhys, one does not base one's whole faith and outlook upon life on evidence which one knows to be flimsy, nor does any honourable man continue to teach what he does not believe to be true. If this is Mr. Rhys' idea of fair controversy, I can only assure him that most people would call it by a much uglier name.

Further misrepresentation follows. Either Mr. Rhys has not read my paper, or he deliberately misquotes its contents, when he says that I argue that the doctrine (of the Virgin Birth) must be retained, because, "so far from hindering, it

helps his (the plain man's) belief," and that I urge, without making any pretence that the doctrine is true, its retention because it is the corner-stone of orthodox Christianity. Here are the facts:

1. I only mention or allude to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth once in my whole paper, in the single sentence which Mr. Rhys quotes as above (" Some well-meaning people," etc.).

2. I nowhere argue that this particular doctrine must be retained because, " so far from hindering, it helps his (the plain man's) belief." That sentence occurs at the end of another paragraph, which runs in part as follows:

> " Again, what is called the miraculous element in the Gospels is not the stumbling-block to the plain man to-day as it was ten, twenty, or thirty years ago. . . . He sees no reason to doubt, after making all allowances, that the accounts are in the main true, and that things were wrought by this Person which at any time, and at even the most advanced period of human knowledge, would transcend human knowledge and experience. The contact of the Personality of God incarnate with the conditions of human life would, he believes, be certain to produce extraordinary results, and he feels that if this element were eliminated the Central Figure would not only be much less vivid, but much less convincing. So far from hindering, it helps his belief."

Now it is perfectly clear from the above that the passage refers to the miracles wrought by our Lord. Yet Mr. Rhys does not hesitate to take the closing words from their context and make it appear that I wrote them solely with reference to the Virgin Birth. He would defend himself, I suppose, by saying that the Virgin Birth is part of the miraculous element in the Gospels. But that does not excuse his disingenuousness in making it appear, as he does, that I argue that that particular doctrine, more than any other involving the miraculous, must be retained for the reason given. I have yet to learn that it is considered fair controversy to take a sentence entirely out of its context, and represent it as having been said in a different place and context.

3. Nowhere do I urge the retention of the doctrine (of the Virgin Birth) on the ground that it is the corner-stone of orthodox Christianity. And this misrepresentation is the less excusable because I have directly implied more than once in my paper what I do believe to be the foundation of Christianity —namely, the belief in the Person of Christ as set forth in the Creeds—*e.g.*, " The very foundation of their (*i.e.*, plain men's) faith is that Christ is both perfect God and perfect Man " (p. 416). " There are many who are neither reactionary nor obscurantist nor narrow-minded, but who are yet convinced that the very *foundation stone* of Christianity is the belief in the

Godhead of Christ as set forth in the Catholic Creeds " (p. 416). Acceptance of the Virgin Birth is part of that belief, no doubt. But that is not what Mr. Rhys says. He alleges in so many words that I specifically urge the retention of this specific doctrine because I consider it the corner-stone of orthodox Christianity, whereas I only mention it once in my whole paper in the passage he himself quotes. He has no right at all for controversial purposes to represent me as saying what, as a matter of fact, I have not said at all.

He then quotes from my paper as follows:

" Modernist Christology, of course, may be the true explanation of the facts, . . . but to the plain wayfaring man it is no sort of substitute for his belief in Him ' Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate also for us."

On this he comments:

" Can a prelate who thus sums up his argument for the retention of the ancient dogmas complain if he is accused of having no regard for the truth ? Can he complain of men's indifference to the religion which he teaches when he practically admits that its doctrines are retained because their retention will enable him and his ecclesiastical fellows to keep their hold on the ' plain man ' ? What scorn would he not pour on the priest of any other cult who showed such indifference to actual historical facts, such a neglect of logic, and such acquiescence in, and even encouragement of, deception ? That he and others fear the results which might follow the acknowledgment of past errors is no excuse for attempting to conceal the errors, or for, still worse, continuing to affirm their belief in them."

This would be a terrible indictment, were it not based, fortunately for me, on what is so obviously a glaring misrepresentation of the passage he quotes. To Mr. Rhys' first question I should reply that even a " prelate " has a right to complain when he is wrongly accused, as in this case, of having no regard for the truth. His stricture would only be justified if I had admitted that Modernist Christology *is* the true explanation of the facts. I do not for a moment believe that it is, as anyone reading my paper with an unbiassed mind can easily see. I am willing to admit that I may conceivably be wrong, and the Modernist right, but I have staked my whole faith and outlook upon life on the conviction that I am right and he is wrong, and no man can give better proof of his faith than that. This being so, I am quite entitled to point out what would happen to the faith of the plain wayfaring man if Modernist Christology were the true explanation of the facts, which I do not believe it to be, without being charged with a disregard for truth.

To his second question I would reply, first, that I do not

complain of men's indifference to the religion I teach, because, on the contrary, I have found very many of them deeply interested in it. Secondly, with reference to his charge that I practically admit that the doctrines of Christianity are only retained because their retention will enable me and my ecclesiastical fellows to keep our hold on the "plain man," I answer that I have made no statement which in the remotest degree substantiates such an assertion. For he can hardly be referring to the closing sentences of my paper, in which I say:

"If you take away from the plain man his belief in the Godhead of Christ, however much you may try to persuade him that no difference is really made by your restatement, you take away from him the very foundation of his faith and life, *and he will be lost to Christianity*. That is why those of us who still venture to hold fast to the Christology of the Creeds may appear somewhat unsympathetic to the Modernists. It is because we believe, as no doubt, *mutatis mutandis*, do they, *that the spiritual life or death of thousands of men and women depends upon which teaching prevails*."

That passage alone, quite apart from the general tenor of my paper, is quite sufficient to dispose of Mr. Rhys' absurd charge that I admit only desiring the retention of the Creeds in order to enable me to retain my hold on "the plain man."

To his third question I reply that I show no indifference to actual historical facts. I certainly do not accept the interpretation placed on historical facts by Mr. Rhys and those who agree with him, but that is a very different thing. Why should I, unless he convinces me, which neither he nor anyone else has done, that it is the true interpretation? For surely he does not lay claim to infallibility. The charge of neglect of logic and the rest falls to the ground for the same reason. There is no neglect of logic, nor acquiescence in, or encouragement of, deception, when one is contending for something in the truth of which one believes absolutely. Certainly, if a man who held Mr. Rhys' views occupied my position and taught as I do, he would be guilty of all these serious faults, but Mr. Rhys' charge against me can only depend upon the assumption that I accept his interpretation of the facts, which I certainly do not.

His final statement I might fairly adduce as a striking instance of "logical neglect," for he begs the whole question at issue in almost every word of it. I and others have yet to be convinced that we have any "errors" to conceal, or that in continuing to affirm our belief in the Catholic Creeds we are affirming our belief in anything but what we believe to be absolutely true; and what we fear is not the result of the "acknowledgment of past errors," for we have yet to be con-

vinced that there are any to be acknowledged, but the result of what we believe to be erroneous teaching about the Central Figure of the Christian Faith.

I think I have made good my plea for fair play in controversy. As Mr. Rhys was, or ought to have been, well aware that few of the readers of his book would have read my paper, and would therefore be unable to judge for themselves of the fairness or otherwise of his comments, he was bound not to misrepresent me in the minutest degree. Instead of that, he has indulged his evident rancour against Bishops and all who dare to believe that the Catholic Creeds remain unshaken by the attacks made on them, at the cost of his reputation as a fair controversialist. Probably very few of those who read his attack on me will see this rejoinder, but I willingly concede him the satisfaction of that probability. Controversy, especially religious controversy, demands a totally different spirit from that displayed by Mr. Rhys, if it is to be carried on with any profit at all. Personal attacks based on misrepresentation will never convince anybody.

EDWARD J. BIDWELL,
Bishop of Ontario.

OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM: SOME MISGIVINGS

FOR one who is not an Old Testament scholar to write about so specialized a subject as Old Testament criticism is rash in the extreme. My excuses are two: First, that I have studied the New Testament, and that as New Testament scholars welcome incursions into their territory from those who have worked on the Old, the converse may for once be allowed; secondly, that I am writing to elicit rather than convey information, and genuinely hoping to have my questions answered.

When I read Bishop Gore's *Belief in God* I was struck by the completeness with which he discards the older tradition, and bases his argument on the prophets, the great revelation made by God in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Here at last he reaches firm ground, prior to this there is nothing certain. So I read again my college textbooks with others of more recent date, to see whether the early part of the Old Testament was really so hopeless, with the result that misgivings arose in my mind as regards the validity of some critical conclusions. I commit them to paper in the hope that some expert will see them and tell me in reply how the matter really stands.

I see no reason to doubt the generally accepted literary

analysis. That, for example, a close connection, in point of time, exists between the development reached in the books of Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, and that the codification of the law known as P cannot be dissociated from Ezra-Nehemiah, seems incontestable. What I question is the orderly evolution of the idea of God as described in the textbooks. (Probably if this doubt is valid, consequences would follow, but I prefer to keep to one point only.) It runs somewhat as follows: A primitive Semitic tribe after going through an original polytheistic stage became monolatrous—that is to say, they came to worship one God, known as Yahweh, as their tribal god. Other nations, so they believed, had their gods possessing equal status. Yahweh was very largely a reflection of the national character—fierce, implacable, cruel. In the eighth and following centuries great prophets arose to whom a new vision of God's character was given. Amos taught that Yahweh was righteous, and guided the destinies of other nations as well as of Israel; Hosea that He was loving, and so on. Exiled to Babylonia in the sixth century, the Jews realized once and for all that religion was independent of frontiers, and when they returned it was with an unassailable monotheism. Later, as they edited their national literature, they read back their current beliefs into earlier times, leaving, however, sufficient traces of the earlier stages to enable modern scholars to reconstruct the process of development.

It is all very clear and logical, and satisfies the natural desire of the mind for simple and orderly arrangement. But does history really work in this way? Three objections occur to me, *a priori* considerations rather than arguments.

(i.) The modern theory owes a great deal to two scholars, Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, both of whom were experts in the Arabian side of Semitic studies, rather than in the higher developments of Babylonia. It was natural that they should imagine Israelite history as starting with a primitive Arabian tribe, and apply to its subsequent course the newly obtained category of evolution. If Israel had really come from the depths of Arabia the theory would have been more plausible. But its origins were in Babylonia and Egypt. So far was the time of the Exodus from being a primitive period of antiquity that it may more fairly be called the Later Middle Ages. A thousand years before Moses, Hammurabi's elaborate code of laws was in existence. The Exodus—which must be historical, for what nation ever invented a story of a servitude to another nation?—was from Egypt, to whose splendid achievements in civilization our attention has been drawn afresh. No one doubts

that Ikhnaton was a monotheist. Why, then, should we doubt the tradition that Moses was a monotheist ?

(ii.) In art and literature we are used to a sudden flowering of human genius, succeeded by a falling away; long centuries follow, during which the high level once gained seems a splendid but unattainable ideal. Still more is this true as regards religion. St. Paul and St. John in the first century A.D. astonish us by the greatness of their spiritual achievement. They remain for ever as the classic types of religion. In the second century we have the Shepherd of Hermas as a characteristic expression of contemporary piety, ranking for a while in the minds of some as canonical.

Another example is afforded by English Church history. The conversion of the English, as told by Bede, is one of the world's wonder-tales. Saints appear in his pages, who for beauty, simplicity, and single-heartedness have few successors. England became a missionary nation, such as she was not to be again for a thousand years, and sent out messengers of the Gospel to Central and Northern Europe. Then to the natural reaction from the first enthusiasm was added the onslaught of the Danes. A dark night of war fell upon the land, and spirituality was almost extinguished. When the Normans came the energies of the people were directed into the channels of political development and church building. Though the analogy is far from complete, the Danish invasions and the Norman period may be put by the side of the Judges in Israel and the consolidation of the kingdom under David and Solomon, culminating in an enthusiasm for architecture. Certainly there is no orderly development in an upward direction visible in the early history of English religion.

(iii.) That the great revelation of God's nature was made to the prophets first is axiomatic to the minds of many to-day. But is there any trace in Amos and Hosea of a consciousness on the part of writer or readers, preacher or hearers, that an innovation was being made ? Is not the appeal based on the past, and especially on the coming out from Egypt ? Some two centuries later Greece experienced a marvellous flowering of genius. To our minds it seems a fresh revelation of the powers of human nature. In a sense, of course, it was. But did it seem so to those who lived then ? Surely an Athenian of Socrates' day, if he could have grasped our modern categories of thought, would have explained that the real forward step was taken by Homer, and that his generation was merely working out the implications of the original revelation. If the analogy is worth anything, we may claim that as Athens in

the fifth century points back to Homer, so the prophets point back to Moses.

These, then, are our three considerations: (*a*) We may rightly look for a high standard of spirituality as well as culture at least in the leaders of a race that came out from Egypt in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. (*b*) Historical analogies make it probable that Hebrew religion began with a high standard; that this was succeeded by a period in which wellnigh all seemed lost, after which recovery took place. (*c*) The Hebrews in the supposed period of a new revelation showed no consciousness of receiving anything new.

As has been often said, had there been no Moses in Hebrew tradition, we should have been obliged to invent one. By "Moses" we mean not a shadowy figure about whom nothing certain is known, but a great leader and a recipient of God's revelation.

Let us consider another consequence of the current theory. Dreadful descriptions of David are to be read sometimes, quite inconsistent with the tradition that he was a man after God's own heart. Let us suppose that the man thus depicted is the real David, and that his undoubted place in popular estimation shows that his character was the highest obtainable at that period. Let us also suppose that the stories of Abraham and Joseph, which were written down in the documents underlying Genesis sometime between 850 and 750 B.C., are the folklore of the preceding century or so. What follows? The stories must be the product of popular conceptions of God's goodness and providence, if they are not substantially records of fact. Genesis is one of the most beautiful books in the world. Our sense of its wonder is dulled by familiarity, but we have only to compare it with other books of the ancient world to recognize the authentic note of revelation. Compare, for example, the wanderings of Abraham with those of Heracles. This is the dilemma: *Either* the stories in their main outlines are true—a high conception of God existed at a very early period, and the Hebrew tradition is trustworthy—*or* they are legends, in which case a high standard of spirituality existed among the people who invented them. In either case we get back right behind the writing prophets. What manner of spiritual perception, one would like to know, was of necessity diffused among the common people who made up stories like Jacob's dream or Joseph's revealing himself to his brethren?

I am jealous for the honour of Abraham and Joseph and David. They are our spiritual ancestors in the Church of God. They are our nursery heroes, having long ago sup-

planted the shadowy figures of Teutonic saga. And now they are going out to conquer China, Africa, and the South Seas. Their abiding power over the human mind must be explained by an adequate cause, and I can suggest none other than that they are real figures, not myths.

Is there not some truth in the old idea of a faithful few who handed down an original revelation by a sort of apostolic succession ? The schools of the prophets give us a hint in this connection, though it is fashionable nowadays to resolve them into dancing dervishes. We can conceive of a few loyal souls holding tight in dark days to the revelation promulgated by Moses, realizing that to proclaim it abroad was for the present impossible. There may have been many Elijahs to say, " I only am left." There may even be some truth in the theory that the law was written in a script unintelligible to the masses.

As regards monotheism, may we not apply to the Old Testament the distinction between implicit and explicit familiar in discussions about Christian doctrine ? Just as the doctrine of the Trinity is implicit in the New Testament, though its implications were not worked out until the fourth century, so the revelation of the Unity of God may have been given to Abraham and again to Moses, but the full meaning of the revelation remained obscure to the people generally for centuries. For our own convenience we label beliefs as monotheistic or monolatristic, but the labels only partially correspond to reality. Most of us are conscious of a strange mixture of ideas within. An early Hebrew would certainly have had masses of unco-ordinated beliefs. But somewhere in his mind was a monotheistic complex, which had been introduced by those who were the recipients of God's revelation, and which, however much repressed, could not be banished entirely. If we could talk to him we might, I imagine, get a first impression that Chemosh was as real to him as Yahweh, but subsequently after a Socratic inquiry be told: " Of course Yahweh is Lord over all, of course He made the world." That the other gods lurked in the background for centuries, then became demons, and finally " no things " at all, is just what we should expect. My point is that the ordinary conventions of conversation are not to be taken as representing people's deepest convictions. A bigoted Belfast Protestant might say: " We worship God, the Papists worship a wafer and the Virgin Mary." He would not on that account have any trace of polytheism in his mind. Nor did a reference to *der alte deutsche Gott* imply a tribal god. If even in these days expressions survive which *per absurdum* may be treated as implying polytheism, cannot considerable allowances be made for the early Hebrews ?

I said at the outset that I believe the results of literary criticism to be in the main assured. Books in Israel were in no sense literary property. They were edited constantly in order to be used. So the Old Testament of necessity bears the impress of late revisers' hands. But this does not, so it seems to me, make it legitimate to force the religious ideas enshrined in the literature into the iron mould of an evolutionary hypothesis which is not really applicable to a religious revelation.

W. K. Lowther Clarke.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL

A recent review in the *Journal of Theological Studies* referred to the growing tendency amongst scholars to accept the early date for St. Paul's martyrdom, and to insist that such geographical data in the Pastoral Epistles as are authentic must be inserted somewhere in the period covered by Acts. What, then, is the evidence which compels us to give up the tradition of the second trial and later martyrdom which Lightfoot and the older conservatives handed on from the second century? Dr. Moffatt, a fair representative of this view, makes these points:

1. The return to Asia implied in the Pastorals is "expressly" excluded by Acts xx. 25 and 38, and about this "the silence of Clemens Romanus is significant."

2. The journey to Spain implied in the Apocryphal Acts (which, though late, seem to be based on early traditions) and in the Muratorian Canon is "probably due to an imaginative expansion of" and pious inference from Rom. xv. 24 and 28. Moreover, it is "corroborated by no such tradition in Spain itself."

3. When Clement of Rome wrote: "After having been seven times in bonds, having been driven into exile, having been stoned, having preached in the East and in the West (St. Paul), won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world, and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance" (ad Cor. vi.), he meant that St. Paul suffered martyrdom on reaching Rome. This interpretation Dr. Moffatt supports by five chief considerations:

(i.) The passage is "rhetorical," and "portrays the sweep of Paul's career from Jerusalem to Rome where his sun had ended his course."

(ii.) Clement describes Rome as "the limit of the West," because he was writing for Eastern readers, and adopted their standpoint. (So also Dr. McNeile—sad to say—who quotes Pss. Sol. viii. 15 and 16; *St. Paul*, pp. 256 and 257.)

(iii.) Ignatius also uses "east" and "west" of Syria and Rome.

(iv.) The context dates the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul *before* the Neronian persecution.

(v.) "Otherwise it might be taken as an inference similar to the above" (see *Int. to Lit. of N.T.*, p. 417, etc.).

To take these points in order:

Acts xx. and the Return to Asia.

"I know that ye all shall see my face no more." The confidence of Dr. Moffatt's "expressly" will carry very little conviction. Either the author of Acts gives us what really was said, or he paints a picture from his imagination. Of these, the only two possible alternatives, Dr. Moffatt cannot choose the first, because in that case the only "express" testimony to be derived from Acts is not about what actually happened, but about what was anticipated. The second is left, and reveals that the confidence rests solely on the axiom that no speech of Acts relates what the speaker actually said. Less sophisticated readers will wonder why St. Paul should not have expressed such a presentiment, especially not long after writing: "In Asia . . . we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life; yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves" (2 Cor. ii. 8 and 9). They will probably also argue that the symbolical act of Agabus later in the journey, and many other touches, strongly confirm the impression of verisimilitude, and reduce the "express testimony" to an extremely precarious inference.

The Pious Inferences.

This charge—so easy to make and so difficult to substantiate—is in this instance particularly ill-founded, for without plunging into the Apocryphal Acts in the case of the Muratorian Canon, it can be tested. So far from this being a series of deductions from the New Testament, its most interesting features are precisely those which cannot be paralleled. Who, for instance, could maintain that its account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel is deduced from the New Testament? Where in the New Testament is the presence of Andrew or the dream of John, or the co-operation and reviewing of the group

of disciples? Whenever the Canon does quote the New Testament, it makes no attempt to conceal its obligations. For instance, it justifies its claim that the Fourth Gospel is by an eye-witness by a quotation from the opening words of the First Epistle. Moreover, the lines in question do not simply remark that St. Paul went to Spain, but that Acts relates St. Paul's arrival at Rome without mentioning his setting forth for Spain *or the Passion of St. Peter*. It is difficult to see why the author put it in this way and added the other (still unquestioned) fact, unless the two were so widely known and accepted that he felt that the silence of an Acts of the Apostles about two such events required explanation. His own simple suggestion that St. Luke was not present certainly does not support the pious fiction theory.

The Oriental Standpoint.

It is difficult to believe that those who still spread this myth can have read Lightfoot's note on the passage. Dr. Moffatt dismisses the plain words "having taught the whole world righteousness" as "rhetoric," and blurs the clear distinction between the "west" and the "limit of the west." But the second and more precise phrase defines the earlier on the assumption that the intervening words mean what they say, and are a justifying link. So far from separating these two from the Neronian martyrs, Dr. Chase (*H.D.B.*, iii. 769) shows that Clement's word implies the very closest association. "They were the first-fruits of a too abundant harvest." Clement then refuses to suffer any such sea-change. Does the appeal to Ignatius and the Psalms of Solomon substantiate the supposed Oriental standpoint? Ignatius says: "God hath vouchsafed that the bishop from Syria should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East." As if this conveyed any hint of the bounds of his horizon! Fortunately, however, just below Ignatius uses a phrase which distinctly suggests that he visualized Rome (as all the ancients did), as surrounded by subject kingdoms. He says: "The farthest bounds (Lightfoot: "The delights," Harnack and Gebhardt) of the universe shall profit me nothing, neither the kingdoms of this world. It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ, rather than to reign over the farthest bound of the earth" (ch. vi.). No Roman ever boasted that they did this from a spot on the circumference.

In the Psalms of Solomon (viii. 15): "Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering, and gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken. (16) He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth

mightily: He decreed war against Jerusalem and against her land," it is usually held that Pompey is indicated. But nothing could be more misplaced than to expect pedantic and accurate geography in such literature. The Psalmist echoes phrases which were quite traditional. Compare, for example, Isa. v. 26: " He will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss for him (mg.) from the end of the earth "; or, xlvi. 11: " I will do all my pleasure: calling a ravenous bird from the east, the man of my counsel from a far country." In Isa. xli. 25 Cyrus belongs both to " the north " and to " the rising of the sun." Traditionally, then, mighty instruments of God's judgments were given a good wide address in the unknown, and such phrases prove nothing to the point.

Even if our old friend " ships of Tarshish " does not imply a bigger world, St. Paul was, at any rate, one Oriental who transcended this supposed standpoint, and even conceived that Spain was inhabited by men. Some years ago, in a lecture at Oxford, Professor Haverfield mentioned an inscription dated before A.D. 70 and found at York about a native of Bithynia who had taught Greek there. He went on to refer to the stream of emigrants from the over-populated cities of Asia Minor, who landed at Marseilles and pushed on overland.

So much, then, for the supposed Oriental standpoint. As there is no positive evidence to discuss, it remains that the position rests ultimately upon the last of Dr. Moffatt's considerations. The journey to Spain must be an inference, even if it has to be pushed back into the (totally dark) years between the death of St. Paul and A.D. 94. Which is surely absurd.

J. C. WEST.

WHAT IS THE GOSPEL?

I

AT a Conference of Ministers from various Communions, held not long ago, the subject selected for discussion was: What is the Gospel ? A much-respected member of the Conference made a speech to the following effect: " When I received a notice of this meeting and saw what the subject of our discussion was to be, I could not help reflecting that it has been my privilege to preach the Gospel for more than thirty years. And now I am invited to consider what the Gospel is. Can it, then, be the case that we do not know ? Is there any uncertainty about it ?"

So spake our respected friend.

But, alas ! however unideal, or even tragic, such a state of

things may be, we had not got very far in our discussion before the evidence appeared that considerable diversity of opinion existed between us what the doctrines are of which the Gospel consists.

The phrase "the Gospel" is continually in use among many who seriously disagree what the Gospel is. Men use the term, but do not stop to define. In one of the latest German books on doctrine, Haering's *Treatise on the Christian Faith*, we encounter such expressions as "the value of the Gospel in its fullness"; or "appreciating the eternal Gospel"; or "a system of Dogmatics which surrenders the Gospel"; or "the intention of many persons to present the old Gospel afresh." All these expressions provoke the inquiry what the Gospel is. What is there that belongs to it only in a temporary way, and what is permanent? What is the relation of Christ Himself to the Gospel? Hegel assured us that Christ is the way, but when Christ has brought us to the goal, we may, and should, forget the way.

In the Fernley lecture of 1890 on the Mission of Methodism, the author, speaking of the Wesleys, wrote: "These men feel that they have a Gospel to preach, a Gospel of God, such a Gospel as their fellow-countrymen need; and that they have a commission and a command to preach it." But no attempt is made to define distinctly or comprehensively what the Gospel is. It is said, indeed, to be the power of God unto salvation to him that believeth. But the apostolic expression requires explaining. It is called "the divinest fact to them," and "a fiery torch." But these rhetorical phrases leave the craving for definite theology quite unsatisfied. And this is a very real danger in the present age. We take for granted that everybody knows what the Gospel is. We do not pause to define. We are vague, emotional, and indefinite. We take a fragment of the truth for the whole, and apply to that fragment the great name which, strictly speaking, only belongs to the Christian Revelation in its entirety. Indeed, the very question, What the Gospel is, may be one which we are somewhat reluctant to think out. We adopt the conventional standard of our denomination, or school of thought, and therewith rest satisfied. Whether that standard comprehends all that the Scripture idea contains is frequently left unasked.

II

This question, What the Gospel contains, or what are the first principles of the doctrine of Christ? is perpetually recurring, and of vital importance, in all efforts at Reunion between separate denominations. For each Christian community exists

to be a guardian and exponent of that which it conceives to be the Gospel. And it sometimes appears that what separate communions consider as the Gospel is, in certain matters of great importance, not the same. This difference came conspicuously to the front quite recently in the Free Churches Report on the Lambeth appeal for unity. The authors of that Report were keenly conscious that a difference of serious nature exists between themselves and certain other Churches, as to what it is that the Gospel includes. They insisted on the necessity of understanding aright the relation between the Gospel and the Church. That such an understanding is essential we must entirely agree. Leading Free Churchmen maintain in that Report that the Gospel is the doctrine that Christ is "the Power and the Wisdom of God unto salvation." To this statement it is added that "this salvation is essentially a personal relation of the soul to God." Through this Gospel—that is, through the preaching of this doctrine concerning Christ—the Holy Spirit is bestowed on the believing. And then "this common possession of the Spirit creates a fellowship." That is to say, that "the Church is the outcome of the Gospel." The Gospel creates the Church.

According to this theory, the Gospel is something complete, apart from the Church. The Church is no part of the Gospel: no part of the Christian good news.

We have to consider, therefore, what the Gospel is. In this Free Church document the Gospel is said to consist of the doctrine that Christ is "the power and the wisdom of God unto salvation." And undoubtedly that Scriptural statement contains the truth. It is composed of two passages in St. Paul. In the one he says that "the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth."* In the other, that "Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God."† But neither of these passages by itself, nor yet the two combined, declare what the complete contents of the Gospel really are. These sentences from St. Paul are certainly among those in which the central principle of the Gospel is contained. But they would require very considerable explanation and expansion before the full contents of the Gospel can be derived from them. They do not profess to be, and they certainly are not, a complete account of the Gospel of the Christian religion. Those extracts from St. Paul do not tell us what it is in which salvation consists, nor in what way that salvation was won, nor how it is secured and applied. Even, then, supposing the Gospel to consist of the Atonement alone, which we contend is not the case, those two sentences quoted from

* Rom. i. 16. † 1. Cor. i. 24.

St. Paul would require to be greatly amplified before a full account of "the Gospel" could be given. The doctrine that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, that we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, are essential parts of the Gospel according to St. Paul. But the passages which describe our Lord as the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation do not tell us this. Indeed, is not the fact that the Free Church Report represents the Gospel by two sentences of St. Paul blended together suggestive that the reality is more complex than one simple sentence can satisfactorily explain?

III

The term "the Gospel" occurs in the New Testament almost a hundred times. We read of the Gospel of God, the Gospel of Christ, the Gospel of salvation, the Gospel of peace. We read of the light of the Gospel, the truth of the Gospel, the defence and confirmation and furtherance of the Gospel. But a term which only means good tidings cannot of itself inform us what the tidings are. St. Paul declares that to preach the Gospel was imposed upon him as a divine necessity. And that the importance of preaching that Gospel in its integrity is immense.

St. Paul marvels that the Galatians have transferred themselves "unto a *different* Gospel"*—that is, to one which is of a different kind. And then he remarks that this different Gospel is not a Gospel at all, for there cannot be *another*. There is only one. But unhappily there are persons who "would pervert the Gospel of Christ";† turning the Gospel into something entirely contrary to its genuine self. Pervert: this is the term which describes the changing of light into darkness,‡ or laughter into mourning.§ That the Gospel must never be changed into something different, but must always preserve its identity, St. Paul goes on to insist in the most emphatic terms. "But though we" (that is, even we Apostles with the authority which we possess) "or" (that is, higher still) if "an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any Gospel other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema."‖ But still in all this we are left to discover what the contents of the Gospel are.

IV

In studying what the Scriptural idea of the Gospel is, the fact must be taken into account that the Apostolic exposition of it developed and matured.

* Gal. i. 6. † 7. *μεταστρέψαι.* ‡ Acts ii. 20. § James iv. 9. ‖ Gal. i. 8.

As we read the earlier sermons of St. Peter in the Acts, we can hardly fail to see that the entire Pauline Gospel was by no means contained in them. The primitive Gospel, according to St. Peter, is that Jesus of Nazareth was anointed with the Holy Spirit; that He went about doing good, and working miracles; that He was crucified and raised the third day; that He was ordained to be the Judge of the living and the dead; and that whosoever believed in Him would receive forgiveness of sins. That is the substance of St. Peter's earliest preaching.* Or, to put it more concisely, as Professor C. H. Turner has done, the original preaching of the Gospel covered, it would seem, no more than three points: (1) That Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of prophecy; (2) that He had really and truly risen from the dead; and (3) that a message of universal salvation was to go out in His name.† It is incontestable that this brief Gospel falls immeasurably short of the full contents of the Pauline Gospel in the Epistles. It has been suggested that we must distinguish here between the popular preacher and the theologian. At any rate, the difference is very marked. The sermons of St. Peter suggest what the Church was declaring to those without. The Epistles of St. Paul what the Church was teaching to those within. But it is clear that there was a process of development. The Church, under the guidance of the Spirit, was thinking the Gospel out; was growing increasingly to realize its implications. It was St. Paul who taught in its fullness the Gospel of the Atonement. Thus the elementary Gospel of St. Peter requires to be supplemented by the ampler Gospel of St. Paul.

V.

Now it is often contended that the Gospel consists of the Atonement. And apparently, according to some exponents, consists of nothing else. It is, for example, contended that St. Paul's preaching contained not much either about the Humanity of Christ nor about His Divinity. Yet it was the Gospel. And that Gospel consisted in the proposition that "Christ died for our sins according to the scripture." Also, St. Paul declared that any other Gospel was to be repudiated. Thus the Gospel consists of the Atonement.

Of course, it is beyond dispute that the Atonement is part of the Gospel. We do not dispute what a Free Church teacher calls the centrality of the Cross. But the question is whether the Atonement is the whole of the Gospel; whether it is true that the Gospel includes nothing else than the statement that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scripture." I hardly

* Acts x. † THEOLOGY, March 1922, p. 139.

think many of us would be prepared to say that. The very passage from which that sentence comes says more than that. For St. Paul begins: "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the Gospel which I preached unto you . . ." Then he continues with the words: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He hath been raised on the third day." And the whole of that grand chapter is devoted to the doctrine of the Resurrection. Is that doctrine part of the Gospel, or is it not? The answer is unquestionably yes. For the writer says: "If Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain; your faith is also vain." Surely, then, the Resurrection is part of the Gospel, for without it there is no Gospel at all. The only escape from that conclusion that I can see is to say that the Resurrection is an essential presupposition of the Gospel of which it is not a part. But that is a distinction in words rather than in realities. For a doctrine without which no Gospel can exist is as much a Gospel as the Gospel itself. I think it irresistibly certain that he who wrote that "Christ died for our sins and was raised for our justification" (Rom. iv. 25) regarded the Resurrection as a central truth of the Gospel. Did he not preach to them Jesus and the Resurrection?

And when St. Paul repudiated in the most emphatic terms "any other Gospel," what he obviously meant was a contradictory Gospel; doctrines which neutralized the truths which he proclaimed. The passage does not mean that the entire Gospel consists exclusively of the fact that Christ died for our sins.

When St. Paul says, "I delivered unto you *first of all*," he may mean either, first in order of time, or first in order of importance. If he means simply that this was the doctrine with which his preaching *began*, it certainly was not the only doctrine he delivered. We may entirely agree that "it is enough to believe one thing about the Lord Jesus Christ to start with." But we must go on to add there is very much more to be told.

And I think the question is not about *individual opinions* concerning what the Gospel is. Rather the question is, What is the *corporate belief* about this matter? What did the Primitive Church consider the full contents of the Gospel to be? The Gospel of the Atonement is certainly, in St. Paul's instructions, the Gospel of the Resurrection. Nor is there the slightest reason to suppose any fundamental divergence between St. Peter and St. Paul in this. We may sometimes wonder how much St. Peter learnt from the deeper mind of St. Paul. But the Gospel, as taught in the Pauline letters, is the Gospel as held in the corporate belief.

VI

Nor is it possible to limit the contents of the Gospel to this. The Pauline Gospel was also a Gospel of the Incarnation. It includes the announcement that God spared not His only Son; that He who was rich for our sakes became poor; that He who originally existed in the form of God took upon Himself the form of man; that consequently the Gospel is the supreme revelation of God's character. All this is the very essence of the Gospel, according to St. Paul. And no statement of the Gospel can be adequate which leaves this out.

The revelation of the character of God as being essentially love, is just as truly a part of the Gospel as the Atonement. And the way in which He revealed that love, by becoming Incarnate, is precisely that in which the grandeur of the Atonement consists. For it means reconciliation between God and man wrought by God becoming human. All this is clearly inseparable from the full contents of the Gospel of Christianity.

After all, to represent the Atonement by itself as if it were the entire Gospel is a self-regarding religion; because it lays exclusive stress on what God does for *us*, rather than on what God is *in Himself*. But the Gospel of Christianity does not only tell us what God does for our sake. It tells us also what God Himself is like. The Gospel is a revelation of God's character.

VII

In that admirable volume, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, written expressly to show what the fundamental contents of the Gospel really include, Dr. Bose points out that three separate stages of opinion exist at the present day as to what the Gospel contains.

The first and lowest stage is that which omits the supernatural beginning and the supernatural conclusion of the life of Christ, and confines attention purely to the teaching and actions of His ministry.

" Between the two points of birth and death, in the earthly life lived in common with us all, in the simple fact that Jesus Christ was the man He was, and lived the life He lived, they find as much of Gospel and of salvation as, they think, humanity can, or humanity ought, to receive on this earth."

This view of what the Gospel is may be called the Gospel of the earthly life, or of the common humanity.

But there is a second stage beyond this, and in which this is all included.

For " there is no one of the Gospels, there was no Gospel before the Gospels, which does not end necessarily, which does

not from the beginning mean that end, in the resurrection." There is the extraordinary power of His human life over death. "But it is not only that: in our Lord's own clear consciousness, in the unquestioning concession on the part of all the records of His personal sinlessness, we have a fact which as much transcends the powers and limits of all other earthly life as His resurrection does. The Gospel from the beginning was not at all that Jesus most perfectly represented our common nature or illustrated our human life, but that He brought with Him something into our nature and life which was not there before, and raised them into something which was not themselves or their own, and to which they could attain only in and through Him." That was expressed by describing Jesus as the conqueror and destroyer of sin and of death. "Let us call this second phase or stage of the Gospel the Gospel of the Resurrection."*

But there is a third idea which the Gospel includes. For "however sincerely and genuinely human we may regard the life and lifework of Jesus, when once we have recognized in His accomplishment or attainment as man that which transcends human accomplishment or attainment—however it may be in the line of man's higher nature and destiny—we have raised inevitably a further question. How does this man break through or pass beyond the possibilities of universal human nature as it is? How does that which is born of the flesh become in Him more than flesh? The immediate answer was and is: The work wrought in humanity through the life in it of Jesus Christ was no mere act of humanity, however exceptional. It was a work wrought by God in humanity. . . . How, then, was the so unique or exceptional personality of Jesus to be accounted for or explained? Was He only a human individual, exceptionally blessed or graced? Or, while perfect man, was He, just because perfect man, something more than man? Perfection is no mark of our common humanity, and needs a very high accounting for. So from the beginning begins a questioning which Christianity answers for itself in the Gospel of the Incarnation."†

Here, then, the contents of the Gospel are described as three stages of advance: the Gospel of the Humanity, or ideal human life; the Gospel of the Resurrection, or the sinless perfection, including the power of reconciliation; and the Gospel of the Incarnation, or the deity experiencing life under human conditions.

Now all this suggests two reflections. One is that the Gospel, in its completeness, comprehends a considerable number

* pp. 5, 6. † p. 7.

of supremely important truths. And the other is that it is always possible for individuals and groups of men to reduce the Gospel to a portion only of its real completeness.

VIII

The question raised by the Free Church Report is whether the Gospel is exclusively doctrine concerning Christ, or whether it includes doctrine concerning the Church. The Free Churchmen contend that the Church is not a part of the Gospel.

Now when we study the teaching of St. Paul, we are compelled to see that the Church holds a very important and essential place in his teaching. His Gospel would be completely altered if his doctrine concerning the Church were to be cut out. For St. Paul is found to say: "I speak in regard of Christ and of the Church."* He goes so far as to write "Christ" where what he means is obviously the Church. "For as the Body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body being many are one body, so also is Christ." He means, so also is the Church. And instantly adds: "For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one Body":† that is to say, into the Church. And this Church is the Body of Christ. And it is the object of Christ's self-sacrifice. For "Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it."‡ That is to say, that the Church is the object of Redemption.

A very able Lutheran critic says that Christ and the Church constitute for St. Paul a unity which is inseparable.§ The whole idea of Redemption is by St. Paul related to the Church. He regards the Spirit as bound to the Church and its institutions. It is those within the Church who are the recipients of Redemption. Christ has set the Church as the only Deliverer on earth.‖ Thus, Redemption for St. Paul assumes a Churchly character.

The conclusion to which the Apostle's teaching leads us is that so far from the Gospel being complete apart from the Church, the New Testament doctrine is that the Church itself is a part of the Gospel. The Gospel is not simply a doctrine concerning Christ. It is also a doctrine concerning the Church. For the Church, being Christ's Body, is the means whereby salvation is proclaimed and applied.

And the ordinary experience is, not that people are brought first to Christ and afterwards to the Church; but that, through incorporation in the Church, and through its influences, they are brought into the closest relation with Christ Himself. It

* Eph. v. 32. † 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. ‡ Eph. v. 25.
§ *Wernle. Anfänge*, p. 166. ‖ *Ib.* p. 176.

is within the Church, as members of the Body of Christ, that men receive the power to resemble Christ.

In the celebrated lectures by Luthardt, which had wide circulation in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Gospel was classified in three series: the fundamental truths, the saving truths, and the moral truths. It is a convenient classification. But the author found it impossible to keep them distinct. The saving truths included many fundamental truths. And it is significant that among the saving truths Luthardt sets the Divinity of Christ, the Church, and the means of grace. Indeed, if the Church itself is a principal means of grace, how can it be otherwise than a part of the Gospel, inseparable from its saving truths?

The Gospel, then, in its fullness is large and comprehensive, embracing the entire contents of the Christian Revelation. Adopting Dr. Bose's analysis we may advance and set the entire Gospel in four divisions.

First, there is the Gospel of the perfect Humanity. Secondly, the Gospel of the Resurrection, meaning thereby the Atonement. Thirdly, there is the Gospel of the Incarnation, which, of course, includes the Fatherhood of God as well as the doctrine of the Son. Finally, there is the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, including therein the Gospel of the Kingdom, the Corporate Institution of the Church, and the Sacramental means by which strength is normally imparted.

More briefly still, "the Gospel" is the entire doctrine concerning Christ and the Church.

IX

Imperfect versions of the Gospel, omitting or underrating important parts of it, have undoubtedly acquired a widespread popularity. But the extent of their prevalence does not alter the fact that, tried by the Apostolic standard, imperfect is what they are. The Gospel is so comprehensive and profound that it is always easier for individual men to grasp a portion, rather than accept the whole. And this is one of the reasons why the Catholic conception of the Church, as a Divine Institution, maintaining in its corporate convictions and devotions the Gospel entire, and thereby securing the comprehensive religion against local and individual limitations, may well commend itself as meeting the infirmities of our human nature.

The inability of men to agree as to what the Gospel contains is undeniably a disconcerting spectacle. Yet we can find in it one consoling thought. The Gospel can be broken up into parts, and each part is a Gospel so far as it goes. Dr. Bose was right when he wrote: "The Gospel of Jesus Christ is so true and

so living in every part, that he who truly possesses and truly uses any broken fragment of it may find in that fragment something—just so much—of gospel for his soul and of salvation for his life."* These fragmentary Gospels, sincerely held and vigorously proclaimed, are a demonstration of the immense vitality and invigorating power which even partial versions of the truth possess.

It is something, at least, for a man to accept the Gospel of the Common Humanity, with its sublime religious and moral teaching, and its perfect embodiment in Christ's example. It is something to give assent to this in a period of perplexity, like the present, when many men have altogether lost their bearings. Nay, it is much to see in Christ the revelation of ideals of God and man.

It is more, much more, to add the Gospel of the Resurrection, with its experience of reconciliation with God and inward peace.

It is greater still when, embracing both of these great aspects of the Gospel Truth, we are enabled to advance to the Gospel of the Incarnation; and to realize that the Ideal of Humanity, who is also the Redeemer, is infinitely more, even Deity in the flesh.

And I venture to add that it is greater yet when, to these portions of the Gospel, is added what may be called the Gospel of the Kingdom, or Gospel of the Holy Spirit; and it becomes realized that the Church is the Spirit-bearing community, the visible perpetuation of Christ's life-giving presence here on earth, a Divine creation, Christ's Body, the authorized exponent of His Truth, and the normal medium for the bestowal of His strength.

But whatever power imperfect versions of the Gospel may possess, it is evident that greater results must flow where the whole Gospel in its integrity is proclaimed. For it is impossible without spiritual loss to substitute a partial Gospel for the whole counsel of God.

Imperfect Gospels must always be beset with weaknesses of the most serious character. They weaken the Church and bewilder the world. For they exhaust the energies of the opposing denominations in controversial disputes as to what the Gospel is; and they scandalize the masses of men by creating a sense of insecurity, which is injurious to the development of their faith.

It is therefore of the highest importance that the leaders of various churches should meet and consider, not simply points on which they are agreed, but chiefly doctrines on which they differ; in order that some serious effort may be made to bring believers in the same one Lord to unity on this fundamental question: What it is that the Gospel really contains.

* *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 4.

X

That this larger comprehensive idea of "the Gospel" is being maintained by Evangelicals in the Church of England is clear from the Report of the Islington Conference for 1922. The whole subject of that Conference was "the Gospel." Its leaders insisted that the Gospel, as revealed in Christ, consists of what He taught about God and what He taught about man. It was earnestly pleaded that the preaching of that Gospel must be comprehensive. "Let us tell of His Incarnation, His life on earth, His Atonement, His Resurrection, His Ascension, His Presence in His Church to-day by His Spirit (etc.). Man needs the whole counsel of God."*

Another speaker taught that "the Gospel is that Jesus Christ in the completest possible sense of the word can save the world"; and that there are four elements in this Gospel: First, the Revelation of manhood at its best; secondly, the Revelation of the nature of sin; thirdly, the Revelation of God's love; and finally, the Revelation of Christ's presence in the individual and in the Church—"dwelling in human lives . . . and dwelling in the corporate life of believers, creating the Church which is His Body."†

Another speaker held that "whatever else it is or is not, the Gospel is the Revelation of the character and being of Almighty God." But the Gospel is not only about God; it is also about the way of return to Him. Great stress was laid on the Gospel of Salvation, and also on the Gospel of the Kingdom. "The Evangelical is aware that he is not redeemed alone, but that we are all reconciled in one body." "The Gospel of the Kingdom, as recorded in the Bible, therefore includes . . . the Sacraments as a social bond, the Church as the Body of Christ, animated by His Holy Spirit."‡

Apparently no discordant voice was raised against all this. It is important that recent Evangelical thought should have included so much in the contents of the Gospel. Clearly, if Reunion is to be brought about, it must be on the basis of this larger comprehensive idea of what the Gospel includes.

XI

Religion consists of these two spheres: The *individual* and the *social*. And true religion requires them to be balanced in their right *proportion*. It has been said that this is a question of emphasis. I think it is. A fear has been expressed that if you emphasize the social aspect of religion too much the danger of the Middle Ages will return, and the power of the

* p. 20. † p. 24. ‡ p. 52.

individual will be impaired or suppressed. We most certainly grant that all one-sided emphasis is dangerous. But the remedy is not found in under-emphasis. We may illustrate this from experience in the English Church. The great Evangelical Movement in the English Church laid the strongest emphasis on individual and personal Gospel. The Atonement as personal, direct relation of Christ to the unit, the thought the Son of God loved *me* and gave Himself for *me;* these were the ruling, dominating ideas. The social or corporate aspect of the Gospel, the Institutional side, was not only subordinated to the individual, but frequently almost lost sight of altogether.

Farsighted observers quite realized the onesidedness of this teaching. They predicted a reaction to the Corporate side of Religion. That Reaction came in the Tractarian Movement. The greatest stress was now laid on the social aspect of the Gospel. Christ loved the Church.

This illustrates the principle that all one-sided teaching provokes reaction. Emphasize the individual side exclusively, and another generation will emphasize the social, possibly quite as exclusively. The converse is also true.

Now it is possible that human progress is destined to move along the path of one-sided emphasis, followed by reaction to the other extreme. But it is certainly not the ideal way. The only way to prevent this zigzag movement is to secure a balanced statement of the truth in due proportion.

If Religion is both individual and social, as it certainly is, then supplementary aspects of the Gospel must both be clearly taught.

W. J. Sparrow-Simpson.

TROELTSCH AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

I

A burly figure with rumpled sandy hair and beard, in rough tweed suit and flannel collar, pouring forth long and fluent sentences in a Berlin lecture-room, sometimes bewildering his hearers whose understanding of the German language was not their strong point by breaking off in the middle and starting a sentence again, commanding admiration nevertheless by his thoroughness, his earnestness, and the breadth and grip of his world-view—such is the recent impression which an American student gives of Ernst Troeltsch, whose sudden and lamented death has deprived England of his presence as a visitor this spring.

Troeltsch is one of those rare scholars whose work belongs to the world rather than to his own country. A pioneer in the field of the philosophy of religion, he has taught us to look at its problems from what is to many of us an entirely new angle. Now that his earthly career has been brought unexpectedly and regrettably to a sudden close, it seems not unfitting that one should try, however feebly, to put on record some estimate of his contribution to religious thought.

The son of a doctor, Troeltsch was born in 1865, and in 1891 became a Privatdozent at Göttingen, leaving there next year for Bonn, where he remained two years as Professor of Systematic Theology, and then went to Heidelberg, where from 1910 onwards he was Professor of Philosophy. A few years ago he came to Berlin, and there as a colleague to Professor Deissmann and others he has since remained. Recently he developed an embolism, and after a few weeks of suffering passed away.

During the Great War Troeltsch dissociated himself from the chauvinistic attitude of many German professors, and for most of the time remained silent. He and his wife suffered the hunger and privations of the blockade with patience and fortitude, giving all that they could to the nourishment of their boy. A loyal German, Troeltsch refers not infrequently in his writings with genuine feeling to "the beloved fatherland." Two sentences, however, written by him in 1912 pathetically illustrate what he seems to have felt about the impending conflict. Discussing the position of religion in the German state, he contrasts its relatively small influence in social and political affairs with the large part it plays in English and American public life, and deprecates the tendency of German newspaper correspondents to sum up the latter phenomenon as "Cant" and "Heuchelei."

He concludes: "The purely religious man would say that however much he would wish for a middle line of action, the true world of eternal values does not for him coincide with the German Empire, or invite a compromise with it, but that in spite of all parties, in spite of the overwhelming mass of theologians who fanatically lust for power, in spite of the adherents of Real-Politik and Pan-Germanism, he seeks an eternal world of the spirit. . . . The religious person to-day who is an independent thinker must find himself in a certain isolation, and hope for a better future, which is indeed a possibility as far as our [German] spiritual life is concerned: till that future comes, it is worth while to tarry and hope, and to do one's own business." (Bis dahin gilt es harren und hoffen, und an seinem Teil arbeiten.)

In 1916 he ventured to write two papers: (1) "The German

Idea of Freedom"; (2) "Private Morality and State Morality," in which he tried, amid the perplexity of mind which the war was occasioning, to think out a real ethical concept of the state. His efforts are not eminently successful, since the atmosphere of Berlin seems to have prevented him from wholly understanding the allied position, but two sentences stand out as prophetic, one in which he upholds "a system of mutual respect and liberty of development constituted by the various peoples in their several individualities, each alongside of the others; a system which would doubtless involve the self-limitation of each to what was truly necessary to its existence as a state, and the granting by each to the others of the liberty of existence *within* these limits"; the other, in which he points remarkably to the ideal which has since the war been struggling to fulfil itself: "Christianity has retired . . . to the depths of the inner life, and at the same time has risen to a height that transcends state and war and kultur—the union of souls in a sphere above this earth, the sphere of the Highest and the Ultimate. From thence Christianity still overcomes the world; but it has in the first instance to allow the world to subsist and 'work itself out'; it leaves room for a Private Morality, far below the sublimity of its own highest laws, for a State Morality which lies far outside its horizon, and for the Morality of a Fellowship of Nations, which is bound up with the cultural values belonging to the sphere of this earth."*

No one can doubt the deep and sincere Christianity of Troeltsch, but I cannot help feeling that even he is just a little hampered by the atmosphere generated by political theorists in Germany, which seems to envelop her theologians as well—namely, the atmosphere in which religion becomes wholly "Privatsache," and public affairs are entirely surrendered to the control of a non-moral state. He recognizes the danger of this, but does not wholly avoid it.

At the revolution Troeltsch was found of service to the nation. He was one of a group of leading citizens which came together to arrange for a Provisional Government, and afterwards to help in drafting the new Republican Constitution. His death is a severe loss to the national life.

II

The writings of Troeltsch are voluminous. Most English theological students will be familiar with *Protestantism and Progress*, so far his only work to be translated verbatim into English. Little need therefore be said about it here. Its chief aim was to point out the indebtedness of the earlier

* See von Hügel, *The German Soul*, pp. 75-107 for a discussion of these.

Protestantism to pre-Reformation conceptions of the world and of science, and to show that Protestantism, no less than Catholicism, stands in need of a concordat with the New Learning, since it took its rise in the period immediately following what he calls the High Middle Age, and therefore really began during the medieval phase of European life.

Troeltsch differs from the other Continental theologians, whose works have become popularized in England, in viewing religion from the standpoint of the comparative philosopher. Biblical research he leaves to others, while he is ready to use its fruits, and to take it for granted as a background. His largest work, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches and Groups*, is an exhaustive enquiry (covering nearly 1,000 pages) into the really important problem of the relation of Christian social theory to modern and (especially) Marxist theory. Is there an Absolute ethic in Christianity ? Troeltsch traces the influence of Christian teaching upon the structure of society from its source onwards through all its ramifications and subdivisions. It would be impossible here to give a fair notion of the whole argument. The reader must be referred to a valuable chapter in Baron von Hügel's recently published volume of essays.* This chapter should be read in connection with the final chapter, " Christianity and the Supernatural." It will then be seen that von Hügel's preference for Troeltsch is to some extent based on the sympathetic recognition which he gives to the existence of a dual standard of ethics. " The Christian ethic . . . goes out beyond Nature," says Troeltsch. The subject is, of course, a difficult one. Protestant theologians as a rule tend to insist on one grade of conduct. Buddhists admit two grades. Hindus reserve the higher grade of conduct for advancing years. It was perhaps this Orientalism which created the B'nai Qyama among the Syrians of Edessa, or made Constantine and many of his contemporaries postpone baptism until the approach of death.

We can only give here the main points in Troeltsch's concluding chapter, which represents his own summary of the " Soziallehren " and its conclusions.

Having brought his survey down to the eighteenth century, Troeltsch proceeds to point out how, during the last 200 years, an entirely new method has arisen of studying social problems. Social theory, instead of subsisting with childlike dependence upon the teachings of antiquity, of Church, and of Bible, has become an independent science. The ancient Church was

* " The Specific Genius of Christianity, as exhibited in the Writings of Ernst Troeltsch," in *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion*, by Baron F. von Hügel. (J. M. Dent and Sons.)

curiously mixed in its social attitude. Partly it recognized the state, partly it indulged in theocratic subjugation; partly it propped up the powers of the state; partly it rejected the whole of state and society. A Christian civilization possessed of an interior unity existed neither in fact nor in principle; the whole idea was foreign to antiquity. The Middle Ages did possess such an idea—in practice, and still more in theory. But to-day there is a more or less complete severance. He then sums up:

1. Christianity in its essence and origin gave hardly any definition to the life of the community. Social organization came with the development of a body of believers and the growth of a cultus. Thence developed three lines: Church, Sect, and Mysticism. The Sect, if it grows large, approximates to the Church-type. Mysticism is the asylum for the religion of scientifically educated circles.

2. The forms of Christian dogma and Christian social organization are interrelated. Thus the expression of the Divinity of Christ developed out of the cult of the early community, and corresponds to its various forms. The Christ of the Church is the Redeemer whose work is applied through the Sacraments. The Christ of the Sect is the Lord who suffers His elect to go through persecution, that He may bring them out to the final establishment of the Kingdom. The Christ of Mysticism is the immanent Logos or Spiritual Principle which was incarnate in Jesus. And so on—working out the various phases and details.

3. The three types survive to-day. The Churches desire to deal with mankind in the mass; the Sects to be communities of holy persons who have had real spiritual experience; Mysticism seeks to detach religion from its historical and external expression.

4. The history of the Christian ethic follows accordingly. The ethic of the Gospels is of infinite sublimity and childlike clarity. It is an ideal which is not attainable in this world save through compromise. The Churches, by reason of their methods, are most prone to compromise, and have tended to develop a double standard. The Sect-type, on the contrary, seeks to render the Gospel ethic workable without compromise. The Mystic is independent of both, making the spiritual an inward matter, or if an ascetic, withdrawing from society. The fundamental problem is still how to combine the ethic with the acceptance of the world order, how to bridge the gulf between God and the creature, between nature and supernature.

5. A further complication, however, is now introduced, namely, the Marxist doctrine of the Class-Conflict, an idea wholly absent from the minds of Christian moral teachers from Augustin to Calvin.

6. All this is mere historical survey. Cannot we detect a permanent and enduring content in the Christian social ethic which may serve as a guiding star for the present and the future? Yes, says Troeltsch, if we do not ask for scientific certainty, since an eternal ethic cannot be scientifically determined.

(*a*) The Christian ethic alone, on the ground of its personal theism, has a conception of personality unmarred by naturalism and pessimism. Only a personality achieved through a union of man's worth and deepest being with God is raised above the finite, and alone can defy it. Without this support, every individualism evaporates into thin air.

(*b*) The Christian ethic alone, on the ground of its belief in an all-embracing Divine love, provides a really indestructible socialism, in which class divisions, exclusiveness, conflict, sex rivalry, all disappear and are absorbed.

(*c*) Only the Christian ethic satisfactorily deals with the problem of equality and inequality, by its doctrine of a world wherein privilege and responsibility are eternally linked. It recognizes fundamental differences, but transforms them by a sense of mutual obligation into an ethical cosmos.

(*d*) The Christian ethic alone brings with it something which no ordering of the community, however just and rational, can completely supply, because in that ordering there still remain the incalculable elements, suffering, want, and sickness. Charity in the Christian sense alone can provide against these.

(*e*) Lastly, the Christian ethic puts a goal before the eyes of all, a goal which lies beyond the mere relativity of earthly life, and in relation to which everything only approximates. The thought of the Kingdom of God in the future (which is nothing less than the thought of the complete realization of the Absolute) does not empty the world of its value, as short-sighted opponents have maintained, but stimulates the energies of all, and strengthens the soul in its conviction of a final, future, and absolute purpose and goal to human work, which will sustain it through all intermediary stages. It overcomes the world without negation of it, and it enlists our heroism in achieving the conquest.

III

Troeltsch's second large volume of collected essays contains much matter of varied interest, especially his candid descriptions of Germany on the eve of war, and his estimate of the position of religion in the modern state, with particular reference to Germany and America. His third volume of collected papers has only recently been published, and I have not yet seen it.

More important than all these, however, is his short essay on "The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religion." This little volume marks a new epoch in the Philosophy of the Christian Religion.

Bishop Westcott, in the twenty years preceding 1892, was accustomed to say:

"If it could be shown that there is one least truth in things for which the Gospel finds no place; if it could be shown that there is one fragment of human experience with which it does not deal: then with whatever pathetic regret it might be, we should confess that we can conceive something beyond it; that we still look for another. But I can see no such limitation, no such failure in the Gospel itself, whatever limitations and failures there may have been, and may be still in man's interpretation of it."*

Bishop Westcott was almost entirely innocent of the difficulties which the younger generation of theologians feels and has to face. The tide of these had hardly reached his feet. Troeltsch, however, in full consciousness of the theories of development, asks the frank questions: "Is Christianity Absolute, and, if so, in what sense? How can we have Finality before the final term of a series? If the world's religions form a series, how can Christianity, which stands so far back in the cultural development of the human race, maintain its Absoluteness?"

This, as will be seen, is a problem already touched upon in the "Soziallehren"—*i.e.*, the possibility of discovering an absolute ethic which shall serve as a norm for the future.

To give the whole of the argument of Troeltsch in this short paper would be impossible. One can only try to indicate its trend and its conclusions. We start with the tendency to regard Christianity in all the periods of its history as a purely historical phenomenon, just like other great religions. This purely historical view-point leads inevitably to an unbounded relativism. Such a conclusion, however, says Troeltsch, is not justified. The idea that every little person with a seminar education is a historian is a disease of modern thought. A great deal of what is called history is only the bricks out of which *history* is built. We are not to construct the meaning of history out of the natural sciences, but out of history itself, and out of theories of perception. These theories Troeltsch holds to be vital. He lays intense stress on "the Religious a priori." Long before the comparatively new study of religious psychology had arisen, he was leading people to seek for a revised "Erkenntistheorie," or theory of perception, based on a reconsideration of the earlier work of Leibnitz, Kant, and Schleiermacher. There is an a priori experience of time, of

* *The Gospel of Life*, 1892, final chapter.

space, and of artistic canons, and similarly of religion. But further, to apply to history the scientific method which is for ever seeking universal laws, is to lose sight of the essence of history which is "*the rise of the Individual and Particular within the working of the forces given to every age, and this, not so much as a derivation, but as a new creation out of the transcendental depths of history.* . . . Every epoch has immediate access to God." "No other living thinker has insisted so much as Troeltsch upon the sense of Givenness and of Otherness, as characteristic of all genuine religion."*

Troeltsch divides the higher religions of the world into two groups:

(*a*) Prophetic—Christian—Platonic—Stoic.
(*b*) Buddhistic—Oriental.

Analysis of religious phenomena tends to the further shrinkage of relativism. It is surprising on how few truths humanity has lived. The history of religion does not provide a boundless mass of conflicting values. Investigation shows remarkably few, and seldom discloses any spiritual goals which are actually new. Variation almost entirely confines itself to the lower stages of religion. The great creative powers only emerge in the higher stages, and the irruptions of such powers are not at all numerous.

It does not follow that the recognition of the relative in history involves the temporary character of one or more of these great manifestations. They need not all disappear. There seems little reason to suppose that the future will show an immeasurable welter of religious productivity. It is much more likely that there will be development on the plateau we have already reached. Man's biological position is now firmly established. Eventually his religious position in its main principles will reach a similar footing, and no new religious superman will disturb it. The creative religious forces in the individual seem to be growing scantier. The creative period of religion has probably gone by. As in our civilization, so in our religion, with the working out of our great fundamental schemes of life, it is simply the individual nuances which increase.

Of the two main groups, which is the higher? Troeltsch says "the first," and gives his reasons.

He stamps Judaism and Islam at once as obviously inferior types of personalistic theism. The one is in a blind-alley, the other is a reaction. Both are legalistic. But the great Oriental systems are more formidable, though, as he thinks, defective. Philosophic Brahminism is, to begin with, too much dependent upon the caste system. It is not truly universalist. Oriental pantheism is esoteric wisdom. Buddhism is an order

* Von Hügel, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

of monks. There is no real gospel for the multitude in these, only a toleration of superstitious polytheism. When we come to examine the esoteric doctrine, we find that it exhibits one or more of several defects:

(*a*) Disregard for the fundamental value of human personality.

(*b*) Disregard for the sense of sin, as in some way indicating a differentiation of the individual from God.

(*c*) Disregard for the values of life; since not merely the evil in the world but even its very beauty is to be renounced, because it is transitory.

Christian personalism, on the other hand, is the only faith which satisfactorily links up the five entities: My Soul, Other Souls, God, This World, a Higher World. It is the only complete breach with the native religions which presents the higher world as one where the individual personal life is of everlasting value.

We cannot compass in *scientific* thought the impossibility of the supersession of Jesus, yet the fact remains that we are all too weak to be able to discover a higher divine power in our hearts (here comes in the religious a priori), much more to discover peace and quiet anywhere save in subjection of ourselves to Him and His Kingdom.

The changed views of the universe, and the possibility of another Ice Age which would obliterate the present Christian civilization, disturb Troeltsch but little. To him the Logos of God was incarnate in Jesus for this planet, but the dealings of the Logos with other worlds, though they do not concern us directly, cannot contradict what we know through Jesus. Similarly, if an Ice Age were to come and go, and a new civilization grow up on an earth wiped clean of former growths, nothing would occur to contradict what we already know. Every truth which came at a later date would be bound to enshrine the truth enshrined in Christianity.

It is probable that in this country few until recently were aware of the interest and controversy which Troeltsch's Essay —and his further Essay, "The Future Possibilities of Christianity in Relation to Modern Philosophy"—excited on the Continent. Some forty or fifty pamphlets and reviews appeared immediately in Germany embracing both comment and criticism. The Conference of the Modern Churchmen's Union at Oxford last year took the subject for discussion, and the English Press, no doubt, regretted that it was excluded from the meetings. Beyond a leading article in *The Times*, no newspaper was able to provide any worthy reflexions on the debate. The papers of this Conference have since been published, and readers can judge for themselves the present position of the problem.

IV

Churchmen may be interested in Troeltsch's opinions as regards the ecclesiastical future. In 1914 he wrote: "The present system of privileged Churches can hardly last another century, and the construction of a new order of things will be one of the great tasks of the future leaders in Church and State." He speculates as to the position likely to be assigned to Liberal Christianity in these organizations. To all appearance a new separate denomination in any European country is not to be thought of. He makes no effort to prophesy on the subject of the Roman communion, although in another place he has expressed some hopes that the influence of some moderate kind of modernism may develop. He concludes: "There can only be a question of room and light within the existing churches with whose fundamentals Liberal Christianity is closely united. . . . For an indefinite time, therefore, the goal can only be to secure for as free a Christianity as possible a modicum of existence within the Churches."

The events in Germany chronicled in the *Harvard Theological Review* for 1921, and the passing of the Enabling Act, together with the Major and Grant cases, are an interesting commentary on these statements.

V

It is not necessary to be a passive follower of Troeltsch in all his conclusions in order to admire him. His courageous independence, his keen sense of honour, his loyalty to scientific respect for truth, his intense reserve—all these traits are worthy of our admiration, even if we do not agree with his opinions.

His findings may be superseded, but he is undoubtedly digging in the right claim. If at times he may seem a trifle pontifical in his utterances—well, with his knowledge and judgment it is excusable, even perhaps justifiable. He held himself to be a strong Protestant. Yet von Hügel thinks that latterly he was this in fewer respects than formerly, and that scarcely anyone has penetrated to the meaning of Aquinas "more deeply and delicately, more generously and justly." May he not have been in his generation a prophet (not the only one, but a great one) of a new *via media*, comprehensive rather than selective? The day is at hand when religion will have to forswear the tendency to base itself upon prejudice or blind tradition, and rebuild itself on the firm foundation of the many-sided truth—truth which is a goal as well as an inheritance. It must, perforce, do this—or perish.

A. C. Bouquet.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

We have received a copy of the second edition of Dr. Inge's already classical work on *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, now published by Messrs. Longman at the greatly reduced price of 16s. net. We understand that it has been out of print some time; and we do not doubt that this reprint will be warmly welcomed. The articles recently published in THEOLOGY from the pen of the Abbot of Pershore will show how essential this work is to all who wish to make a thorough study of ascetical theology and mysticism, as well as to those interested in the philosophy of religion.

We hope next month to publish some answers to those who have asked for guidance as to books on ascetical theology.

We are glad to correct an error in the last paragraph of the "Discussion" appended to one of Mr. Lowther Clarke's *Studies in Texts* (February No., p. 102). Our correspondent's suggestion regarding St. Paul referred not to the "young man" of Matt. xix. 22, Mark x. 22, Luke xviii. 18 *f.*, but to the "lawyer" of Luke x. 25, whose question led to the parable of the Good Samaritan. In pointing out the error, our correspondent adds: "Our Lord, seeing that in his case Religious and Racial—or Religio-racial—prejudice was the main cause of stumbling, put the conquest of *this* as the main thing to aim at, and the result was 'the Apostle of the Gentiles.'"

Mr. Frost's note on the "Anima Christi" printed below reminds us of an omission in the article we published last month (p. 209) from the pen of the Abbot of Pershore, where he makes no allusion to Fr. Longridge of Cowley's admirable edition of the Ignatian Exercises and the Directorium. Jesuit scholars have themselves acknowledged this to be among the best and completest works on the subject in the English language. Indeed, the Abbot of Pershore quotes from its Preface in his article on the "Anima Christi" in the first number of *Laudate;* though we wish that he had given the reference.

COLOMETRY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

ROLAND SCHÜTZ has an exceptionally interesting article on this subject in the October, 1922, number of the *Zeitschrift für die N.T. liche Wissenschaft.* Professor Norden, the foremost authority on such matters, has handed over to Herr Schütz his accumulations of material, on which the article is based.

The literature of antiquity was designed for declamation, or at least for reading aloud. It appealed to the ear, not to the eye, like the modern book. Rhythm was essential as an aid to memory when books were largely learned by heart and declaimed. In Hellenistic writers a deliberate attempt was made to break down the barriers between prose and verse. Much information on this subject will be found in Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa.*

A clear distinction must be drawn between stichometry and colometry, though the *στίχος* is sometimes employed as a general term, of which the *κῶλον* is a variety. The *stichos* was the unit of prose as the *epos* was of verse. Stichometria, therefore, was the method of measuring literary

material by the space occupied. The line or *stichos* was, as far as possible, of a uniform length. The size of the work was reckoned, copyists paid, and selling price fixed, by the number of *stichoi*. The finding of references was facilitated thereby, and additions or diminutions from the original copy could be detected.

Colometry was the division of lines according to sense. To read aloud an ancient manuscript, which had no punctuation or divisions of words, was exceedingly difficult. But when lines were of unequal length, corresponding to the sense, the task became easier. Breath was taken after each *colon*.

In the so-called Euthalian sections we have a specimen of the New Testament thus arranged for rhythmical reading. Codex Bezæ is an unskilful example of the method, which is clearly established for the sixth century. How far can it be traced back? Certainly to the fourth century, perhaps earlier. The makers of the versions—*e.g.*, the Syriac and Jerome's Latin—deserted the plan of continuous writing. The Greek system may go back to a bilingual copy, in which the Greek arrangement had been conformed to the Latin.

But the tenacity of ecclesiastical tradition is proverbial. There is every reason to think that the colometric arrangement of MSS. merely reproduces the traditional method of solemn reading. Further, the punctuation of mediæval MSS. follows the general lines of the colometry. This punctuation has to a large extent persisted in our printed Bibles. But the division into verses is purely arbitrary; it dates from the sixteenth century, and as often obscures as helps out the sense.

We find it hard to realize that Bible reading in the Early Church must have sounded very different from that to which we are accustomed in our churches to-day. The Eastern spoken voice was more musical than ours, as the singing voice was less musically developed. Bible reading, like all religious utterance, was a method of chanting rather than speaking.

This is a bald summary of a fine essay. Some important conclusions may be drawn. Passages like St. Matthew xi. 25-30 ("I thank Thee, O Father," etc.) are generally recognized as quasi-poetical, and parallels from Hermetic and other literature have been quoted. But it does not, therefore, follow that they are not authentic. It may be objected, Can we imagine Jesus and His apostles declaiming the message of the Gospel in poetical fashion? Certainly we can. In South India to-day the regular method of evangelization is a *singing* mission. It is worth noting that the discourses of St. John's Gospel lend themselves particularly well to a rhythmical representation.

When we sing the liturgical Gospel we are nearer to primitive custom than in our rendering of any other part of the service. But what about reading the lessons? Do we not need a Bible printed for liturgical use, following the κῶλα of the primitive Church, so far as they can be recovered? Schütz prints the Second Epistle of St. John according to colometry, and it is reassuring to find that the present punctuation is a fairly safe guide. But we give two examples of passages as they would sound read according to (*a*) modern punctuation; (*b*) colometry:

James i. 1:

(*a*) James | a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ | to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion | greeting.

(*b*) James a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ | to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion greeting.

2 *John xii.*:

(*a*) Having many things to write unto you | I would not write them with pen and ink | but I hope to come unto you | and to speak face to face | that your joy may be fulfilled.

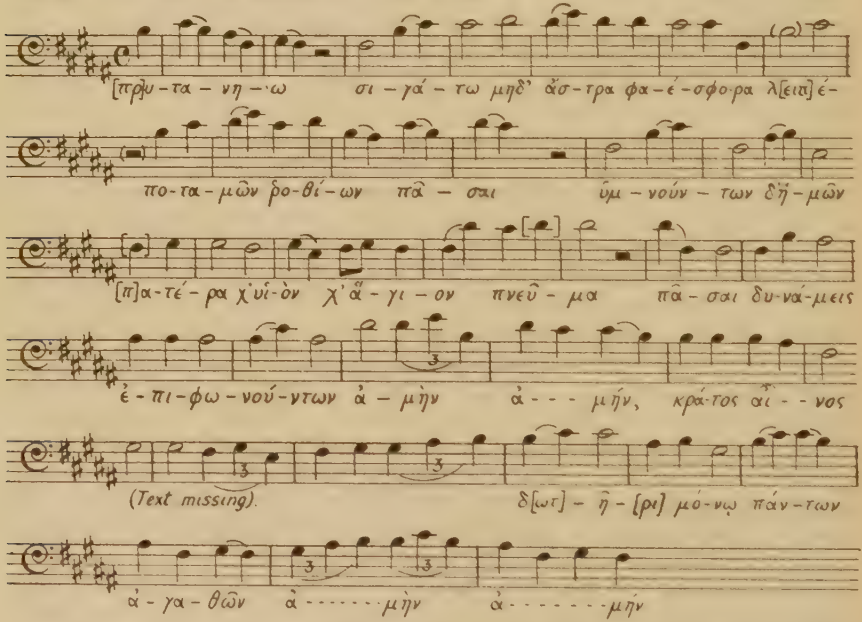
(*b*) Having many things to write unto you I would not write them with pen and ink | but I hope to come unto you and to speak face to face | that your joy may be fulfilled.

The practical result of disregarding the commas and following the ancient *cola* would have to be ascertained by experiment, but it would probably mean a more rotund and solemn tone.

W. K. Lowther Clarke.

A THIRD CENTURY HYMN

Volume XV. of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (1922) contains a third-century Christian hymn, which, by the kindness of the British Museum authorities, we are allowed to quote. The modern notation is copied from the *Zeitschrift für die N.T.liche Wissenschaft*, by kind permission of the Editor, Professor Lietzmann. This is the fragment:



Line 1.—[. . . thirty-one letters . . .] *ὁμοῦ πᾶσαί τε θεοῦ λόγιμοι δ[υνάμεις] . . . αρ[. . .]* (no music for this line).

Line 2.—[. . . twenty-eight letters . . . *πρ]υτανήῳ σιγάτω μηδ' ἄστρα φαέσφορα λ[ειπ]έ—*

Line 3.—[*σ]θων*[. . .] *λει* [. . .]*ρ* [prob. *πηγαὶ* (no music so far)] *ποταμῶν ῥοθίων πᾶσαι · ὑμνούντων δ' ἡμῶν*

Line 4.—[*π]ατέρα χ'υἱὸν χ'ἅγιον πνεῦμα · πᾶσαι δυνάμεις ἐπιφωνούντων ἀμὴν ἀμήν, κράτος, αἶνος.*

Line 5.—No text for music . . . δ[*ωτ]ῆ[ρι] μόνῳ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀμὴν ἀμήν.*

ANIMA CHRISTI

In Theology for June, 1922, p. 349, I mentioned on hearsay that *Harl.* 2253 contained the Anima Christi. At the time of writing I had not seen the text, but since then my friend Dr. J. Hall has lent me his index to the manuscript, wherein he had transcribed it.

The Abbot of Pershore, in his interesting article in the first number of *Laudate*, refers to *Harl.* 1260 as being the earliest English MS. known up to date to contain the text—Mearns dated it 1370—but does not mention *Harl.* 2253, though it is without doubt the earlier of the two. It is written on vellum, and bound up with a thirteenth-century MS. which extends to f. 48*b*. The Anima Christi is on f. 54*b*². As regards date, it cannot be later than 1320, while a reference to Bannockburn in Thomas of Erceldoune's prophecy on f. 127 fixes the *terminus a quo* at 1314. (A discussion will be found in the Introduction to *King Horn* . . . edited from the manuscripts by Joseph Hall, 1901, Clarendon Press.) It was apparently written at Leominster, and is a miscellaneous collection of prose and verse, in Latin, Anglo-French, and English.

Harl. 2253.

f. 54*b*². Anima Chr*isti* sa*nctifica* me/
corpus Chr*isti* salua me/
sanguis Chr*isti* inebria me
aqua lateris Chr*isti* laua me.
passio Chr*isti* conforta me/
o bone Jh*esu* exaudi me
et non me p*er*mittas sep*ar*ari a te/
ab hoste maligno defende me/
in hora mortis voca me
et pone me juxt*a* te
vt cum ang*e*lis tuis laude*m* te
in s*ecu*la s*ecu*lorum Amen.

Qui ha*n*c or*atione*m deuote dixit iij* dies ve*n*ie possidebit.

[I might add that on ff. 136*b* and 137*a* the MS. has the following notes on a use of the *Te Deum*, not mentioned, I think, by the late Bishop of Salisbury in his article in the *Dictionary of Hymnology* :

(f. 136*b*) Ad eleuat*ione*m corp*or*is chr*isti* dic h*un*c psalmu*m*
Te deu*m* laudamus
Seint hillere archeuesque de peyters ordina ces
salmes pur p*ri*er a dieu . . .
(f. 137*a*) e a la eleuation Te d*eu*m laud*amus*.]

Maurice Frost.

A VILLAGE MISSION : SOME REFLEXIONS

In August, 1922, the Parochial Church Council resolved that a priest well known for his pioneer work in a neighbouring city should be asked to conduct a Mission in Passion Week of 1923. The time was ripe. In the previous autumn there had been a much-needed rearrangement of boundaries which brought the population of the (ecclesiastical) parish

* III. *milia*.

to about 1,200 souls. Through the midst of it ran a line which divided two parish councils, two rural district councils, two parliamentary constituencies; new building had grafted a number of villa-residents on an agricultural village with a good sprinkling of gentry; the local Congregational chapel had been there for over a century—longer than the parish church. The one body which could unite all classes and interests was the Church.

From the priest's point of view, too, the time was ripe. Just three years before, his predecessor had died after a faithful ministry hampered by sickness and infirmity; and this had meant three years of steady, uphill teaching and pastoral work. There were good foundations: a retired naval man who had been trained to serve at St. John's, Red Lion Square, and who could teach others; a loyal Mattins congregation; a Church School admirable alike in tone and in educational efficiency ; a small, but keen, choir. Gradually children who had fallen away from Sunday School were won back, and with the parson's wife as superintendent, numbers nearly doubled. The server became sacristan, and three boys were trained to serve. A Choral Eucharist at 10 once a month gathered the Sunday School to the altar, and the nave of the church was well filled for it. A boys' choir was started and trained in reverence from the start. The Church Council set on foot a Freewill Offering Fund which doubled the voluntary offerings of the Church-people for the year, and enabled the meagre wage of the incumbent to be increased. And in July, 1922, a great effort was made, under the leadership of one of the churchwardens, to raise an Endowment Augmentation Fund by subscriptions and a Fancy Fair, and over £350 had been raised. Now was the time for a clear witness to God and His Church.

The Missioner preached on St. Andrew's Day as a kind of introduction, but the preparation proper only began in January, after the Christmas Play was over. Seven people—five women and two men—promised to distribute the Mission literature, under the guidance of the lady-worker who had been a year in the parish and knew all that there is to know about Missions. Then Lent came, with a daily Mass and a week-day evening service. Every day there were communicants, and every week some forty people gathered for a short evensong and instruction on the Eucharist. Expectancy grew and became infectious. The Sunday congregations increased; some, at least, were resolved to repent before the Mission came.

Three days before Passion Sunday the Missioner's staff came—an experienced Deaconess and two students from a neighbouring Theological College; and they were quickly at work helping with the Mission choir, lantern-carriers, lads' and girls' classes, etc. And the programme went round, bringing to every house the message of the two big posters. On the Saturday night the Archdeacon—a veteran Missioner himself—came to meet the Missioner and the workers and to give them a few words of good cheer.

On Passion Sunday the Missioner preached at Mattins and to men in the afternoon; but the Mission opened at Evensong. The Church was full, and " For all the Saints " was sung mightily. After the 3rd Collect hymn a procession was formed, headed by processional cross, choir, and eight lads as lantern-bearers, and the march began to the Parish Hall half a mile away. The Church Council—particularly the working men on

it—had insisted that that was the right place for the evening Mission services. The congregation had to get there this Sunday night; and therefore there had to be a procession; and therefore there had to be a processional cross. So the first procession was held in the village since the parish was formed over eighty years ago. And the Parish Hall, holding 200 people, was filled, many being gathered in *en route*.

The curve of attendance at Mission Services is generally reckoned to sag on the third or fourth day: but that did not happen. Every morning the altar was well attended—there were over eighty communions made in the week, not counting the Sundays. Each afternoon the Missioner gave instructions to congregations in church which rose from thirty to fifty. Each night the Parish Hall was full. Perugino's Crucifixion covered most of the back of the stage. Leonardo's Last Supper was on one side wall, with a picture of the Good Shepherd: Uhde's Berlin picture of Jesus in the cottage home on the other. By Monday night all who came felt that it was a House of God. And all sorts came. Few were more regular than the Congregational Minister and several of his congregation, except that the large Mission choir never missed. And we had the whole counsel of God. Wednesday night was a specially full night, and the subject was Confession. They listened spellbound. Two years before, on Palm Sunday, the Rector had given out a notice about hearing Confessions before Easter; and oh, the fuss there had been! But now it was so clear: it was in the Gospel —came straight from the Cross and the risen Lord. That night new hopes were born in many a troubled heart. By Saturday the Missioner's spare time was full.

Each night a party went out with lanterns and the Durham Mission Hymn-Book, and one or other of the theological students stood on a chair and bore witness. One bed-ridden woman rejoiced as the procession stopped outside her cottage to sing her a verse of " Onward, Christian soldiers " all to herself—it was years since she had heard a hymn. And lads who " go nowhere " found themselves dragged along to the Mission. On the Saturday night a novel feature in Missions was tried, and a group of missionary students came to act a missionary play, " The Open Window." The sorrow of the child-bride and widow of India, the levity of the Japanese girl, the Chinaman's fatalism in face of pain, the pathos of the Australian mother who had forgotten what Christmas meant—all these came home to eye and ear and heart, and the Church's Catholic mission was understood and *felt*. Then came the last Sunday—the early Communions, the Sung Eucharist of thanksgiving at 10, the packed church at 6.30 for the last Mission Service. " Conversion—the turning of the will to God "—you could have heard a pin drop as the Missioner gave his final message, full of power, humour, inspiration, love. And the hymns—" Faith of our Fathers," " Take my soul and let it be Consecrated, Lord, to Thee," and Newman's " Praise to the Holiest "—how we sang them! Then the silence for the Blessing; and the even greater silence of people walking out, and home.

It is too early to speak of results—new men in the choir, larger congregations, penitents, Confirmation candidates, the largest Easter Communion; these already, but there are many more on the way. But there are some broad reflexions which may not be amiss now:

1. Great sources of joy were released. You couldn't go down the village street without knowing it. People who had stuck to their religion through many a dull, dry period found it transfigured. It was not only

true and sound, as they had always believed, but also the most joyful and glorious thing in the world.

2. Suspicions vanished into thin air. A week before the Mission a Nonconformist seriously asked the Rector whether the cross was going to be carried in procession, and, if so, was it because we worshipped it? And, during Lent, the interior of the Church had been transformed by clearing the choir out of the tiny chancel and converting the whole chancel into the sanctuary. One of the sidesmen was so nettled that he went next Sunday to chapel. In our village there is a name for this: it is called "devil-dodging." But it won't happen for causes of this kind any more. The Churchfolk have realized that the Catholic religion and the Gospel are the same.

3. Confession, Communion, Confirmation—all were taught; but the Missioner used only so much Catholic terminology as was necessary. He dealt in things, not phrases; and the result was that he kept people together—so vital in a village—and the Nonconformists stood with us. They saw that we were as Evangelical as they, and they readily admitted it. How much better, this, than a "united Mission," where either different messages are given or the one truth pared down to suit the lowest! No doubt they will still go to chapel: but they will have nothing to say against those who go to church, even if it be their own kinsfolk.

4. The Church-people have all passed through a common experience and known a common Saviour and Lord; so that the priest can begin to associate the laity with him in more direct pastoral work than heretofore. And with 1,200 people the work can only be done by devolution. What a help for the twenty-five or thirty Confirmation candidates, of ages from eighty to thirteen, to have god-fathers and god-mothers suitable to their years, to explain things to them, and help them to keep their promises!

5. Some ten or twelve intend to go to retreat together in the autumn, and a whole new road opens there.

6. Will it be possible to have the Sung Eucharist every Sunday? Perhaps not yet. The priest is resolved that, when that comes, it shall come at the people's request, and he wants that request to spring from a real, living faith. Besides, he remembers that he will have successors.

REVIEW

A BIOGRAPHER OF BECKET

Of all the lives of mediæval worthies, there are probably none so interesting or so full, save those of St. Francis of Assisi, as those of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and in the case of the latter we have the additional material of a very large quantity of letters written by him and addressed to him. Very few characters of the Middle Ages can be known by moderns so well as Thomas Becket.

Becket was his surname certainly, if he ever used a surname at all. Three times only is a surname given to him by contemporaries. His father, in the French metrical life of which we are now to speak, is called Beket. He is never called à Becket. That form, vulgarly used nowadays, has no early authority. Henry Wharton, that marvellous young man whose only modern English parallel was Bishop Collins, knew all about this (see note in Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 257), and J. C. Robertson (1859) wrote as quaintly as truly: "The prefix *a*, which is sometimes invested with the dignity of an accent (*à*), and sometimes cut short by an apostrophe (*a'*), has no countenance from the old writers, and seems to have originated in vulgar colloquial usage." But so far as we know, he always signed himself with reference to place or title, Thomas of London, in many charters, till he was Thomas of Canterbury. For a Londoner he was. A recent attempt by Mr. Walter Rye to associate his family with Norfolk does not seem to me to be convincing. Certainly he was an Englishman by birth, and the first Englishman to be Archbishop of Canterbury since the Norman Conquest. The custom of "England for the English" was far from generally adopted in the Middle Ages, any more than it is now. How many of our recent Prime Ministers or Commanders-in-Chief have been Englishmen? Of the last eight Archbishops only two have been born in England of English parents.

Thomas won fame in many fields, as a lawyer, a soldier, a financier, an archdeacon—all of them, in those days at any rate, very wild professions; but most of all, of course, in that cause for which he met his death. "The discipline as well as the faith of the Church must have its martyrs," said Bossuet; and Tennyson expressed this martyr's aspiration in the words:

> "But I must die for that which never dies."

So there are many reasons why Thomas should have had many biographers and why the biographies should be full of interest.

In the last forty years almost all the biographies, and other

materials—Latin, French, English, Icelandic—have been admirably edited: most of them in that wonderful issue begun by Canon J. C. Robertson in the Rolls Series; also the delicious Icelandic saga, based upon a lost English original: the *Life and Martyrdom* by Robert of Gloucester, edited so long ago as 1845 by W. H. Black; and the *Fragments d'une vie en vers accouplés*, edited by Paul Meyer, 1885. But all this time one of the most important of all the biographies has awaited a really critical edition. *Garnier de Pont S. Maxence*, edited (very well for the time) by C. Hippeau in 1859, but without any notes at all, is really one of the most valuable, because the most close, of all the biographies; and it is only just now that he has received adequate treatment. In *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr, par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, poème historique du XIIe Siècle* (1172–1174), *publié par E. Walberg, Lund*, 1922, we have at last a superb and final edition, which must satisfy all students.

And the first thing we find is that we have been calling the author all this time by a wrong name. He should be Guernes, not Garnier. We are accustomed to this among mediævalists: Jordanes, *par exemple*, not Jornandes, as our fathers used to write. Now the value of this French metrical life (in itself a most ingenious exercise in putting contemporary facts into verse—like the Ἱστορικὴ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελλισαρίου, or the *Phillipid* of Guillaume le Breton) lies in its careful collection and record of facts, either known to the writer personally or obtained by him from the evidence of those whom he had met. Guernes, it seems, was a sort of wandering clerk, a friar, perhaps, before the friars. He had seen Becket in life.

"E jeol vi sur Franceis plusurs feiz chevalchier."

After the murder he went to Canterbury to learn all that was worthy of preservation about the martyr. He wrote his poem in its final form within four years of the martyrdom. There is abundant evidence that he used the biographies which had been already written. It is not possible, perhaps, to trace all his sources with certainty, but undoubtedly Edward Grim and William of Canterbury were among them, the former notably in regard to the life, the latter in regard to the miracles. The whole subject is dealt with exhaustively and brilliantly by M. Walberg, the present editor; and, by the way, he discusses in a very helpful way the value and authorship of other biographies— for example, the *Anonymous* — who has been identified (by Mr. Freeman, for example) with Roger of Pontigny.

The life by Guernes is remarkably complete. It not only tells events, but analyses letters. In many of its comments on facts it is entirely original. Several times it adds details, such as names, to what the other biographers say. Sometimes

M. Walberg doubts if these additions are authentic. But there seems no definite reason to distrust them. Much that is original in what may be called the posthumous life was probably founded on the writer's own observations or inference.

The language in which the poem is written is good French of the *isle-de-France*, with a touch of Anglo-Normanism here and there, and some "picardismes." Guernes boasts truly enough "Mis languages est bons, car en France fui nez." Such is a brief account of the valuable work in editing which M. Walberg has rendered notable service to English history.

W. H. Hutton.

NOTICES

The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ. By the Right Rev. A. C. Headlam, D.D. Murray. 12s.

One opens this book with high expectations. Its author, the brilliant scholar and administrator to whom English theological study owes so much, was raised to the Episcopate on the day of publication. It would, indeed, have been a pleasure to greet it as a great book on a great subject. If extravagant hopes have been formed, they are doomed to disappointment. The first criticism I have to make is perhaps not quite fair, but if Theology is to be a guide to the purchase of books by needy scholars, it must be made. For 12s. one expects a book which goes more deeply into the problems than Dr. Headlam does here. Much of the book consists of lectures, delivered originally at King's College, of a quite popular kind. They are based upon wide reading and independent thought, but in themselves are often merely a restatement of the obvious. The study of the Ministry goes only so far as the Transfiguration, for the book is confessedly only a fragment of a larger design. Had the Transfiguration, for example, been omitted from the treatment, there would have been no ground for complaint. But two or three pages are devoted to it. Dr. Headlam tells the Bible story, and then proceeds (in effect): I am not going to trouble you with modern criticism; the story may be exaggerated; I am not prepared to say what happened. This is the popular lecturer rather than the scholar. One expects to have difficulties grappled with in a book of this size.

Then the Bishop's attitude towards criticism is, to some minds, peculiarly irritating. The book, as a whole, is a conservative manifesto, and the critics come in for severe treatment. One passage strikes me as exactly what a Regius Professor, writing an important book, would be expected not to write without justifying his statement by references:

"St. Matthew was not a mere copyist. So far as he was selecting and arranging his material, he was doing what any modern historian would do in writing a life of our Lord, designed to bring out what he believed to be a true account of Him. Is there any reason to think that in doing this he faked his material? No doubt a modern critic of a certain type, when he sets himself to write a life of our Lord, does omit quite unscrupulously everything which conflicts with his conception of that life without thinking it necessary to give any adequate reasons. He

does not scruple to alter or modify it, and he interprets it to suit the opinions he has formed, often in a way most difficult to justify . . . Now it is natural that a modern critic should suspect an ancient writer who was engaged in composing the life of our Lord of doing the same thing as he does himself. . . ." (pp. 26, 27).

But Dr. Headlam is himself a very advanced critic from the strictly conservative standpoint. For example, he refuses to discriminate between history and legend in the Infancy narratives of St. Luke, and regards St. Mark viii. 1-26 as a doublet of what has gone before. To define the permissible limits of advance in the liberal direction in terms of one's own position is natural, but not always equally convincing to others.

If the foregoing expressions of personal opinion are unfavourable, it is because the reader expects so much from Dr. Headlam on such a subject. In the main the book is admirable, and exactly what one would recommend to a thoughtful layman who asked for a summary of the modern critical position as understood by sane British scholars. The chapters on the sources of our knowledge and on Palestine in the time of Christ, to mention two only, could hardly be better done. Considerable space is devoted to a refutation of the theory expressed in these words: "Mark is far more a primary authority for the thought of the Apostolic Age than for the life of Jesus" (*Beginnings of Christianity*, i., 268). Dr. Headlam attacks this position with great effect. The Gospels, though later than the Pauline Epistles, represent an earlier mode of thought. But the theory is capable of being expressed in a quite unobjectionable form. Those who lived with Jesus must have remembered thousands of incidents and sayings which have not been preserved. Such as are enshrined in the Gospels were probably chosen because they had a special bearing on the problems of the Apostolic Church, and it is legitimate to read between the lines and deduce what the passages may have meant a generation or so after the events recorded.

On p. 96 Dr. Headlam says that "there seems to be . . . no evidence in favour of the Epiphanian theory that (the brethren of Jesus) were half-brothers," which is surely an overstatement.

W. K. L. Clarke.

The Presence of God. With a Preface by Bishop Gore. By W. H. G. Holmes, M.A. S.P.C.K.

In his Preface to this book Dr. Gore says: "The main theological controversy of to-day concerns the transcendence and immanence of God." Mr. Hanson, in a recent number of the *Church Quarterly Review* concurs, and so do many other thinkers. Yet, as in other controversies, it is extraordinarily hard to find what exactly the terms imply on which the controversy turns. The value of Canon Holmes's book is increased by the exemplary care with which he works his definitions out; and also, incidentally, by his illustrations from Hindu thought with which he has a first-hand acquaintance. He takes the "transcendence" of God to mean His "essential supremacy and independence." The "immanence" of God goes along with His "presence." Neither term has a spatial reference. Both of them refer to God's permanent causal relationship to the things which depend on Him—which He controls and keeps in being.

Canon Holmes guards against a Hindu exaggeration of immanence which, by making God the cause of all actions, good and bad alike, does away with moral distinctions and moral responsibility; also against a modern theory which, stressing man's kinship with God, forgets that the distinction between the Being on whom all things depend and the beings who depend on Him, cannot be blurred by any amount of moral progress. We may become more godlike, but we do not thereby become gods; and still less do we become God. The ordinary man, again, like the Old Testament prophets, finds no difficulty in combining the notions of transcendence and immanence. The fact that God lives in heaven—in " the high and holy place," is compatible with the fact that He lives with the humble and contrite, and that He is always perfectly able and ready to hear and to help.

There are, however, some difficulties and perhaps inconsistencies to which attention should be paid. Writers on immanence habitually lay stress on God's causal work and presence *in* us, in contrast with His work *on* and His presence *with* us. Canon Holmes makes this contrast in his last chapters, though his definitions, as we have seen, left the contrast out of account. " Few people," he says, " believe now in the impenetrability of human personality . . . personality touches personality, and may indwell it."

This view at first sight is open to the objections Canon Holmes has urged against the Hindus who identify the human soul with God. It is also open to the criticism of Dean Rashdall, that to speak of one mind as being " part of " another is essentially unintelligible. However much A's sympathy makes him sorry for B's sorrow, the two sorrows remain two. If A literally became one with B—if their sorrows were identified—mutual affection would cease to exist; " sympathy " would cease to be sympathy. There is reason for thinking that the stressing of mystical union is only a way of emphasizing the practical closeness of God's causal action. In any case the word " immanence " is highly ambiguous, and needs more explaining and more defending than it gets. " With most writers immanence is hardly more than an instinctive protest against . . . the deistic banishment of God from the world and human life, and when the attempt is made to say what is involved, problems emerge, most of which are neither solved nor as a rule seriously grappled with " (Hastings, *E.R.E.*).

ALFRED D. KELLY.

THE ESSENTIALS OF RELIGION. By J. Wilson Harper, D.D. Pp. 224. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Harper in this work seeks to reveal the essentials of religion, taking Christianity as the highest type and showing its bearing upon the individual and social life of men. It is written in untechnical language, and meant not as a doctrinal exposition nor, strictly speaking, an apologetic, but as a practical help for those who have not time to read theological treatises, but are yet keen to discover what can be said for Christianity as a way of life in the light of modern thought and modern needs. Dr. Harper seeks to show that Religion's necessity lies deeply rooted in the wants of the human soul, and is also a powerful factor in social life. By it and the spirit which it imparts man is enriched and ennobled, and society is regenerated and transformed.

H. M. RELTON.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGION. A Sociological View. By Charles A. Ellwood. The Macmillan Company. 1922. New York. 10s. 6d. net.

It was not to be expected that religion would be exempt from the demand for the "reconstruction" of all things after the War, and we are continually being reminded that Christianity must be reformed or perish, and that unless the Church does more things than we can hope to remember, it is doomed. The cry that Christianity is at the cross-roads leaves the Churchman who is familiar with the history of the Church little perturbed, since he remembers that its whole career has been one long series of "crises," and its best work has been done when it has quietly but firmly set itself in active defiance of the spirit of the age, and refused to change its methods or abandon its principles or dwell exclusively upon one aspect of its teaching to the extent of over-emphasis and consequent loss of other essential aspects of the truth.

So to-day Churchmen can well safely ignore a good many proposed "reconstructions" of the Faith and remedies for the supposed fatal diseases from which the Church is said to be suffering. But what cannot be ignored and must be reckoned with is the fact that our semi-pagan civilization and the evils of our present social system are a real stumbling-block to faith, and a real hindrance to many who otherwise would be numbered as loyal Churchmen, putting their moral enthusiasm and passion for social righteousness into the great task of regeneration to which the Church is committed. The Church is weak to-day, because so many men seek elsewhere for an outlet for their moral and spiritual activities. Should we win them back if the Church were openly committed to a programme of Social Reform, and entered definitely as a revolutionary force into the present social and political confusion and babel of tongues? What *is* the social teaching of Jesus, and how far has the Church been faithful to its Master's intention in this matter? These are serious questions, and the value of Mr. Ellwood's book lies in his passionate conviction that in Christianity alone we have the only solution of our social ills. A Christian world is not only practicable: in the long run it will be found, so he tells us, that no other sort is practicable. How is it to be brought about? Churchmen have their own very definite beliefs as to what are the root causes of the present moral evils, and in what direction we are to look for their real cure. They can, however, learn from Mr. Ellwood, whose thesis is that the reconstruction of religion from the sociological view-point is to be sought in the establishment of a more rational and more secularized form of Christianity—*i.e.*, a Christianity in harmony with modern science and democracy. The book is an able vindication of the teachings of Jesus from the standpoint of scientific sociology, and a constructive application of the principles of sociology and social psychology to the religious problems of our time by one who can speak with authority as a sociologist. Within these limits Mr. Ellwood has something to teach us.

H. M. RELTON.

THE DECAY OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.

Many readers of this book will be surprised to learn that its authors have "never before framed an indictment of the capitalist system." However, they here present us, as might be expected, with a document which, for sheer forcefulness and conviction, is, in spite of—or perhaps because of—its small compass, of quite unique value among modern

works covering the same ground. It is not, we think, wholly due to our own ignorance of economics and (no doubt) of many of the arguments to be urged on the other side, that we find the general conclusion reached by Mr. and Mrs. Webb—the conclusion, namely, that " it is a matter for the gravest apprehension whether, if it is not immediately controlled in the public interest, and progressively replaced by some better organization of industry, *with some other incentive than profit-making*, the reign of capitalism is not destined to destroy civilization itself "—quite unanswerable. The words we have italicized suggest the main point in the indictment; as they describe, also, the keystone of the modern industrial system. The practical dictatorship of plutocracy is made inevitable and certain by a system which divorces the workers themselves from the ownership of the " instruments of production," and is based on the doctrine that the well-being of the community depends on the extent to which its individual members devote their chief energies to the acquisition of wealth. Mr. and Mrs. Webb believe, nevertheless, that down to about the middle of the nineteenth century the system proved itself, on the whole, a blessing; but they add that since that date " it has been receding from defeat to defeat, beaten ever more hopelessly by the social problems created by the very civilization it has built up, and the very fecundity it has encouraged." It is impossible even to summarize here the steps in the argument which support this view of the case, but such things as the growth of a huge *rentier* class, which consumes but does not produce, and is placed above the law that if a man does not work neither shall he eat; the elimination of any truly " free competition " by the development of trusts and combines whose express aim is monopoly; the gigantic influence, direct and indirect, of a newspaper press largely owned by millionaires; the outrage on personality and the denial of freedom (defined as " the opportunity of continuous initiative ") involved in regarding the workers as so many " hands "—as they *must* be regarded by every employer who has to defend himself against ruthless competitors; the temptation to general sabotage offered both to Capital and Labour by the tactics of either party when it finds itself in a tight corner; and " the impotence of Capitalism to control the diplomatic and military situations it inevitably creates "—these are some of the heads of an indictment which—for ourselves, we repeat—we find unanswerable.

The authors of this book are only voicing, with the authority which comes from their profound knowledge, the conviction of an increasing number of thoughtful men, who believe that unless the present industrial system is very speedily, by the good-will of the mass of men, ended or mended, it will end civilization. To the economist there seem two alternatives before us: " red ruin and the breaking up of laws," or the replacement of all that the word " capitalism " stands for by some form of " socialist " system. But there is a third alternative, which involves neither catastrophe nor change, so far as externals are concerned; it may be summed up in the words of a high authority: *Beware of covetousness*. And the student who is also a Christian may be forgiven if he lays down such a book as this with something like despair, reflecting on the fact that there are comparatively few people to whom the practical application of the social teaching of Jesus Christ suggests itself as the *only* sure remedy for our present discontents, and fewer still who realize that the Christian ethic is robbed of its dynamic force when isolated from the Catholic Faith in which it is rooted.

CYRIL E. HUDSON.

THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER. By F. L. Strong. Longmans. 6s. 6d.

This is a singularly beautiful book. It consists of a series of addresses on the Beatitudes, given to the Oxford Mission Sisterhood of the Epiphany by their chaplain, Father Strong. The writer has a great gift of exposition, and succeeds in illuminating the subject without any suggestion that he is straining the meaning of his text.

The main theme of the book is that Love, defined as the spending of one's self for the welfare of others, is the destruction of all evil, and the source and essence of all good. The character of Christ Himself is simply that of One who loves perfectly and always. This character is not *natural* to man, for it is indeed the character of God: but man was created to be a soil in which the seeds of the Christ-character might be sown. As animals are apparently capable of rising above their own nature through contact with man, so man through contact with God can take on features of Divinity. And, "as seed and soil must combine, so God and sinners must combine if they are to be transformed into His own likeness."

The *arrangement* of the Beatitudes will perhaps strike some readers as a little arbitrary: the first six are treated as the analysis of this superhuman character, and the last two as showing its effects on the well and ill-disposed respectively.

The tone of the book is that of the wisdom which is from above, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. But this peaceableness sometimes raises questions in the reader's mind to which it is not easy to find the answer. There is a passage on the treatment of heresy, with the spirit of which every Christian must agree, but Father Strong seems unable to bring himself to say whether in the last resort a heretic must ever be excommunicated. The same tendency may be seen in the treatment of "anger." He seems to say that anger in the modern sense always means passionate vindictiveness, and naturally therefore condemns it outright. Whether vindictiveness is really always contained in the passion of anger may well be doubted; but in any case he does not really face the question of the disposition of God towards the finally impenitent.

The analysis of the content of the Beatitudes is admirable. The *poor* in spirit are the "beggars" towards God, those who know and act on the truth that He alone is Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier. There is a good passage on "mourning," though we are perhaps getting a little tired of the slaying of Sir Oliver Lodge's famous aphorism about the modern man and his sins. A fine exposition is given of the reason why the blessed are they who hunger and thirst after "*righteousness*," rather than after *God*. The meaning of "seeing God" is luminously brought out.

The conclusion of the book is an exhortation to use our power of auto-suggestion. Our Lord, we are told, directs us, as M. Coué would direct us, to use the forces we actually possess. Whether perfection, here and now, is actually within the grasp of every soul which is in the state of grace, as Father Strong would seem to imply, may perhaps be doubted without faithlessness: but it is a noble ending to an inspiring book.

K. D. MACKENZIE.

BOOK NOTES

Personal Religion and Public Righteousness. By Canon Peter Green. Longmans. 2s. 6d.

We imagine Canon Green protested vigorously when asked by the Bishop of London to write a devotional book of 128 pages to help people in the next Lenten season, and groaned inwardly when he sent the manuscript to the publisher. To write to order in this way must indeed be irksome. If by a Lenten book is meant one which will deepen the spirituality of the faithful, then Canon Green has not been particularly successful. Helpful as the book is, many much better ones could be named. But he has done something more worth the doing, in that he has written a very winning book about religion, instinct with a warm living faith, and based upon wide pastoral experience, which is just suited to the needs of earnest people who do not as a rule accept the Church's guidance. The thesis of the book is sufficiently indicated by the title; we have about reached the limit of social advance as long as our standards of personal devotion remain so low.

Religious Education.

Seeing that education has so many papers devoted to its interests, books dealing with the religious teaching of the young must be content with but a short notice in Theology. *A Year's Teaching on the Church Catechism*, by S. N. Sedgwick (Mowbray, 4s. 6d.), follows the method of S. Sulpice, and gives specimen blackboard illustrations, which are, however, too elaborate sometimes for the ordinary catechist. The author finds a three years' course open to objection; a one year course is far better when the children have no Church teaching on weekdays. *A Sunday-School in Utopia*, by E. F. Braley (Macmillan, 5s.), is a manual on psychology and method by a well-known expert, and is intended to be put into the hands of teachers. Starting from the dictum of a little Londoner that in a real school they teach you something, but in a Sunday-school " they mess yer abaht," the writer works out his plan of showing how a Sunday-school is to be made " a real *school*." If the Sunday-school is run as a separate institution apart from the Church building and its services, Mr. Braley's book shows how this can best be done.

The Christ of the Future. By A. J. C. Allen, M.A. Robert Scott.

Though the writer assures us that it embodies his teaching of many years, this little book or pamphlet of seventy-seven pages was actually published in opposition to Professor Bethune Baker's *The Faith of the Apostles' Creed*, and especially against that part of it which is concerned with the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection. One of its merits is that it is short enough to be read by the many; and the Bishop of Chelmsford's Foreword is excellent, as against the intellectualism of the Modernist position. " The important question," says the Bishop, " which is scarcely ever faced by the ' liberal ' controversialist, is not whether his so-called conclusions gratify or even satisfy a few ' intellectuals,' but whether they lead to the salvation of souls, as the Apostle understood salvation. . . . The proclamation of non-miraculous Christianity or anything approaching

it never produces what might be called the greatest of all miracles, the New Birth. It does not save souls."

Some of Mr. Allen's arguments are not arguments, but he is at any rate right in insisting that the differences between Catholics and Modernists are fundamental, as they were between St. Athanasius and Arius.

The Religious Life. By Bede Jarrett, O.P. The Faith Press. 1920.

It is interesting to have from the Provincial of the Friars Preachers in England and the historian of the English Dominicans a summary but often illuminating account of the various religious communities which have from time to time arisen in the Christian Church, of their ideals, and of the forms in which those ideals have been embodied. The earlier chapters on the Origins of the Religious Life, the Primitive Rules, and the Monk, are based largely on the researches and writings of the Abbot of Downside; they contain much valuable information in brief space and in a readable form. The derivation of the Friars from a third Order instituted by Innocent III. (p. 137) seems inconsistent with the facts; the idea is probably derived from Father Mandonnet, but goes much further than his (rather dubious) arguments warrant.

A Dominican—standing between the "Canon Regular" and the "Clerk Regular"—is naturally sympathetic to both these developments, and the chapters on them will be found very instructive. The changes produced in the sixteenth century and their meaning are well brought out—*e.g.*, the substitution of the personal for the community obligation to recite the Divine Office (p. 158 *ff.*). Still more far-reaching was the extension given to the conception of the vow of obedience. "The older, as against the younger, school would in every case deny to the vow of obedience any dominion over the judgment or the reason. . . . But . . . St. Ignatius particularly lays stress on the point that the highest perfection of obedience is the surrender, not of will only, but of intellect no less" (pp. 169, 170).

Father Jarrett is not a very careful reader of proofs: a bad mistake occurs in the bibliography, where Heimbucher appears disguised as Reinbucher.

Celibacy of the Clergy. By Archdale A. King. S.S.P.P. 2s. 6d.

This fully documented but succinct treatise is a useful addition to the literature of the subject. Unfortunately the author is insufficiently skilled in the craft of bookmaking. The mass of detail which is incorporated in the text instead of being relegated to footnotes makes the treatise unattractive to the general reader. The scholar will be put on his guard by the apparently second-hand character of some of the quotations. Mr. King's conclusions are uniformly judicial and in accordance with Anglican precedent. Indeed, the history of the attempt to enforce clerical celibacy is sad reading, and shows the unwisdom of imposing a yoke which human nature cannot bear.

Conversion, Catholicism, and the English Church. By Walter Carey, D.D. Mowbray. 2s.

It is good to hear Bishop Carey's voice again, as earnest and winning as ever, but with the added note of episcopal authority. The book is a passionate plea for love and common sense in the Anglo-Catholic movement, and a dissuasive against Romanizing. It contains many

passages like the following: " I dispute the assertion that you find Jesus sufficiently in the Blessed Sacrament. If you are a Catholic believer you find there His Presence and His Love, but you do not find His teaching or His character. You must go to the Gospels for these. Moreover, that type of Catholic teaching takes for granted a priest and a church somewhere just round the corner. We have to deal, in this country particularly, with dwellers in remote places, who see a priest perhaps once a month or less frequently. We must give them some solid food to keep them in union with their Saviour, and this food is regular prayer and study of the Gospels " (p. 22). The Bishop hits hard sometimes, but faithful are the wounds of a friend. Perhaps those whom he attacks would say he was pushing at an open door.

The Constructive Revolution of Jesus. By S. Dickey. Swarthmore Press. 6s.

A useful but not outstanding study of Christ's teaching by an American professor, who quotes freely from the most recent literature. Such books as these, isolating Christ from the Church He founded, cannot be expected to make much appeal to Churchmen, nor is there anything original in this particular book to attract them. An American writing for an English public would have been well advised to omit a gibe on p. 146, where ancient imperialism is praised in that it did not " cover up with the pious cant of ' mandates ' its exploitation of subject peoples."

Every Man's Story of the Old Testament. By A. Nairne, D.D. Mowbray. 4s. 6d.

It is a great thing to have a Regius Professor of Divinity writing one of Messrs. Mowbray's popular books. This book has been eagerly awaited, and will doubtless have a very large circulation. For a certain class of reader it is even more than one could have hoped, for fresh charms of style are revealed in each new book by the author. Professor Nairne has written a subtly fascinating and deeply spiritual book which will captivate those who, brought up on the Old Testament, are inclined to be bored with it, owing to undue familiarity and imperfect understanding. We fear that a larger number of earnest readers will not be much helped. Most Englishmen are matter of fact, especially as regards religion. They want to know, Did it actually happen ? and Dr. Nairne's poetic vagueness may even prove irritating to them. But let us be thankful for what we have. It is not often that such a distinctive book is given us.

In view of the class to which the book will make the strongest appeal, it is fortunate that the MS. fell into the hands of Messrs. Mowbray, who have produced it with consummate skill.

God and Ourselves. By Bishop King. Mowbray. 1s. 6d.

These devout and graceful reflections will be prized by the Bishop's many friends.

The Way of Vision. By Jesse Brett. Longmans. 5s.

Mr. Brett has probably found his public a strictly limited public which appreciates his successive books. The message is that of the great masters of the spiritual life, and readers who persevere will get their reward. But the presentation is not attractive.

The Creed for the Twentieth Century. By C. G. Harrison. Longmans. 4s. 6d.

Mr. Harrison has written an original but not very helpful book in a spirit of eclectic Catholicism. The orthodox faith "is the only form of belief that can commend itself as satisfactory to thinking men"—such is his theme, which we welcome. But conscious that no arguments but the very best are of the slightest use, we scrutinize narrowly the qualifications of each new apologist. An author who attaches enormous importance to the work of the Anglo-Catholic school in the Church of England; who thinks that Protestantism will eventually ally itself with Islam and Judaism, and that Popery is a malignant canker in the Body of Christ, but that high hopes may be entertained of the new Pope as "an advanced thinker"; and who pins all his hopes to the Eastern Church, even suggesting that the Church of England may become one day a Western outpost of the East—is sadly out of touch with reality. We find it hard to understand the mentality of a "Catholic" who devotes five pages of a short book to the support given by a séance at Leipzig in 1878, *at which a table disappeared*, to the story of the Ascension, and who hopes that the Church of England will some day admit the Book of Enoch into "her Canon of Scripture."

The Local Colour of the Bible. By C. W. Budden and E. Hastings. T. and T. Clark. 8s.

The editors of this new series propose to give a series of short articles upon the Eastern background of the Bible in four volumes, the first of which, dealing with Genesis to 2 Samuel, is here before us. When the scheme is complete the result will be a popular Encyclopædia of Bible manners and customs, arranged specially for the needs of the preacher, and not alphabetically, but in the order in which the subjects occur in the Bible.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER.